

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1875.

The Week.

ON the 3d in the Senate, perhaps the most noticeable proceedings, in view of the tone of the President's message subsequently, were those relating to the resolution of enquiry as to Arkansas introduced by Mr. Clayton. The point to be remarked is, that the resolution, as it originally stood, called upon the President not only for information but "for such recommendations as he may deem proper," but on objection being made by Mr. Johnston of Virginia, who reminded Mr. Clayton that it was not usual to call upon the President for recommendations, he consented that this part of the resolution should be struck out, and it was struck out. The Grasshopper Bill passed by the House (a very queer bill, directing the President to distribute supplies to the sufferers) was referred to the Senate Military Committee; and Mr. Morrill of Vermont made a speech against the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty. In the House, on the same day, the Civil-Rights Bill made its appearance in charge of General Butler. There was a difficulty during the debate between Mr. McLean of Texas and General Butler, the latter referring to a certain class of people in the South as "banditti, horse-thieves, and assassins," and the former replying by saying that "the gentleman from Massachusetts was the only murderer that he knew on the floor"; the Speaker interfered, however, and preserved order. On the next day, in the Senate, Mr. Morton brought up the question of Presidential Elections in a new form, by moving an amendment to the twenty-second joint rule of the two Houses in the following form: "No objection to the reception and counting of any electoral vote or votes from any State shall be valid, unless such objection is sustained by the affirmative vote of the two Houses." In the discussion which followed, Mr. Morton said that there was no chance of the adoption of his constitutional amendment before the next Presidential election; but under the rule as it now stands any State might be thrown out by either House of Congress.

In the House on Thursday the Civil-Rights Bill discussion continued, and the session was enlivened by a speech of Mr. John Young Brown of Kentucky, who, it must be confessed, was decidedly unparliamentary in his language, and who was finally arraigned at the bar of the House and censured for his conduct. The House also agreed to the report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, acquitting Mr. Stowell of Virginia of having sold a cadetship. On Friday the death of Senator Buckingham of Connecticut was announced, and the customary proceedings of respect were voted. In the House the Civil-Rights Bill was passed with the school clause stricken out, and applying now only to inns, public conveyances, and places of amusement, by a yea-and-nay vote of a hundred and sixty-two to one hundred, and the bill went to the Senate as an original House bill, without any relation to the Senate bill already passed. In the Senate, on Saturday, Mr. Morton reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections a bill to regulate the counting of Presidential votes, and the House bill to protect life on board steam-vessels was debated. On Monday, Mr. Morton reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections a resolution declaring Mr. P. B. S. Pinchback entitled to a seat as senator from Louisiana. The report is only signed by four members of the committee, but it is presented as the committee's report, five making a quorum, and four a majority of that five.

The new rule adopted by the majority in the House of Representatives is not in itself very objectionable, yet to get it into its present shape was perhaps worth the filibustering resorted to by the Democrats. If, however, they had fought the proposed

change by arguments, invective, or entreaty and prediction, they would not only have done all that duty required, but have done the very best thing for the interests of their own party. The main objection to the change in the rules is that the experience of many years is on the side of the old one, and that, if rules are to be changed, they ought to be changed in quiet times and in the general interest. This change has, however, been made in very exciting times, and avowedly as a weapon of party warfare. If it is allowed to stand in the next Congress, therefore, it will be in order that it may be used as a means of harassing or oppressing the minority, and thus of producing renewed disorders in the House. We are clipping out from Republican papers the passages in which they now approve of the new rule and of the manner of its adoption. We shall reproduce some of them this time next year, and think they will then prove amusing reading, by showing what is so often shown, and apparently with so little effect, the difference it makes whose ox is gored.

The prominent part played by Butler in pushing through the Civil-Rights Bill of course led to a great deal of violence in the debates, and to one very disorderly and yet very comic scene. A member from Kentucky, Mr. Brown, delivered himself of one of those elaborate pieces of vituperation, which the newspapers call "seathing," and which was plainly directed against Butler. Being asked, however, by the Speaker, whether it was aimed at any member of the House, the orator denied it, but closed by mentioning "Butlerism" as the object of his attack, which showed, as the Speaker rightly held, that he had secured himself against interruption by a piece of discreditable evasion. Thereupon there was a scene of wild excitement, which had, however, its ludicrous side, for in it Mr. Dawes, of all men in the world, appeared in the character of a stern, implacable, and resolute moralist, and apparently made every preparation to sell his own life dearly, for he said it reminded him of the old days when members had to form a hollow square in front of the Speaker's chair in order to secure freedom of speech. Inspired by these memories, and having the whole House at his back, he determined to slay Brown incontinently, and moved his expulsion, and was with difficulty appeased by having the wretched man censured by the Speaker. The absurdity of the affair was increased by the fact that Mr. Dawes, and every other old member of the House, remembered many encounters between Republicans since the war fully as discreditable, and some of the wicked Democrats insisted on having the reports of some of them read. In not one of them, however, was the vituperation nearly as justifiable as in Brown's case. He said little more of Butler than what every honorable man in the House and in the country thinks. The Chairman of the Republican National Committee has, indeed, pronounced the old "statesman" compendiously "a liar and a blackguard," but we think Butler ought to be, though of course he will not be, followed into his retirement by some formal expression of the reprobation which the great body of his colleagues undoubtedly feel. The party which has used him for so many years owes something of this kind to the morality of the country, which it has allowed him to outrage, and to the youth of the country, whom his political success has helped to debauch. Let us say to Mr. Dawes, that one-tenth part of the wrath excited in him by Brown's blather-skite, and one-fiftieth part of the courageous virtue which he displayed in calling for Brown's punishment, would, if displayed on several really serious occasions, have done him some credit, and the cause of honest government much service; but when these occasions came there was no more fight in him than in a sucking dove.

A plan of compromise has been got up in Louisiana by the Congressional Committee in the form of a contract, treaty, or protocol between foreign states. On the one side the memorandum pledges

the Conservative claimants of seats in the Louisiana House and Senate to submit their claims to George F. Hoar, William A. Wheeler, William P. Frye, and Samuel S. Marshall, and to abide by their award; binds any Conservative claimant to whom George F. Hoar, William A. Wheeler, William P. Frye, and Samuel S. Marshall may give a seat, as well as all other members and senators who sign the document, vulgarly speaking, to "put the thing through" by the adoption of a joint resolution pledging every one, first, to recognize and support Kellogg; second, to abide by the award of George F. Hoar, William A. Wheeler, William P. Frye, and Samuel S. Marshall as to the distribution of seats. This compromise would give the Conservatives a majority of about ten in the House, and that party held a caucus, and at first voted to adopt the plan. Against this action Wiltz and McEnery protested, and it was rescinded, and a mass-meeting was afterwards held denouncing the compromise, and a resolution was passed reminding the Conservative senators and representatives that they were elected by the people to represent them in the Louisiana Legislature, and that no authority whatever has been given them to make any contract of the sort proposed which could be binding on the people.

In this they are undoubtedly quite right; but their error seems to arise from the mistaken notion that it is popular government which the State of Louisiana enjoys. The people have nothing to do with the government in Louisiana. They may hold mass-meetings and pass resolutions, but the government is just now in the hands of Messrs. George F. Hoar, William A. Wheeler, William P. Frye, Samuel S. Marshall, and William Pitt Kellogg. A little while ago it was in the hands of Messrs. Foster, Phelps, and Potter, but they declined to do anything with it except make a report, and General De Trobriand kept it for a few days. Before that it was, according to General Grant, in the possession of Congress, and, according to the Attorney-General, in the possession of Grant, but the people of Louisiana have nothing to do with it. Besides their protocol, Mr. Hoar's committee have examined a good many witnesses, some of whom show a disposition to testify to the wrong kind of intimidation (*i.e.*, intimidation of Democrats by Republicans), which we endeavored to explain last week. There is one thing about the evidence taken in Louisiana which is encouraging: that there is at least plenty of it. It may be worth little or nothing, but will, according to estimates carefully made, in bulk go far beyond any testimony ever taken by a Congressional Committee of Enquiry. Besides this, when the Committee come back and report, as Messrs. Phelps, Foster, and Potter did, there is nothing to prevent Congress going down in committee of the whole, to get a little additional light, and then, when Congress comes back, we might all go down in a body, and stay there till we found out the real facts about this perplexing business, so as to remove all doubts and finally settle the thing.

The Committee of the House appointed to enquire whether the government of the State of Arkansas was republican, monarchical, or aristocratic in form, has made its report, and finds that the new constitution is republican and in many ways better than the old one, and was adopted by, and is satisfactory to, a majority of the voters of the State; that the condition of the State has been as peaceful since the adoption of the new constitution as it ever was; and that "the mass of people on both sides are inclined to peace and good government," though there are among them turbulent young men who do, now and then, "invade the rights of colored men"; but that, on the whole, the state of things in Arkansas is very much like that of the other Cotton States the control of which has passed into the hands of the class which ruled before the war; that the committee cannot find any solid ground on which to recommend the interference of the General Government; that the principle is now well established that, whatever defects of form there may be in the manner of submitting a constitution to the people, they are cured by the popular ratification, and that "the people of every State have the right to make their own constitution to suit

themselves, provided it be republican in form and in harmony with the Constitution of the United States." The majority of the committee—Messrs. Poland, Scudder, Sayler, and Sloss—therefore decline to make any recommendation with regard to Arkansas; and Mr. Ward, of Illinois, makes a minority report, in the form of a resolution, in which he finds that Brooks, who was elected to the office of governor in 1872, is entitled to retain it until 1877, no matter what the majority may say, and was ousted by force, and is still the lawful governor of the State.

The President, however, was by no means troubled by this deliverance, and evidently believes that he knows more about the Arkansas matter by mere insight than any committee. Accordingly, on Monday, the day after the committee had presented their report, he sent a message to Congress which seems to have startled even the best friends of the Administration. In it "he ventures to express the opinion" that Brooks was lawfully elected governor in 1872; that the constitution under which he was elected was overthrown by "violence, intimidation, and revolutionary proceedings"; that "if these proceedings are permitted to stand," minorities are left without protection in all the States, and that the other Southern States may also "change their constitutions and violate their pledges"; that the precedent is dangerous to the stability of the State government, if not of the National Government; and he begs Congress "to take definite action in the matter." This extraordinary document, on which we have commented elsewhere, appears to have been prepared without consultation with the Cabinet, and bears every mark of the instigation of Clayton, McClure, Brooks, and the other members of the Arkansas carpet-bag lobby. It has taken Congress by surprise; but it is all but certain that no definite action "will be taken," and that if the Executive wishes to overturn the existing State government he will have to do it himself, in which case it will be the solemn duty of the next Congress "to take definite action" in his own case when it meets in December. In fact, unless something is done to clear his mind with regard to his relations to the State governments, it would be but decent to give him the title of "Lord Protector" at once. The functions with which he now apparently considers himself charged are not those of the officer known as President of the United States.

The *Tribune* has published during the past week several documents of interest in relation to the Emma Mine and those connected with it. The first of these is the complaint in the case of the English stockholders against Park, Stewart, and Baxter, and the other is General Schenck's little book on poker. The General has written a letter to a complaining friend explaining the facts. He says that the story that he wrote and published a treatise on the game is an infamous fabrication. The real fact was that he was staying at a pleasant English country house, where the family amused themselves by playing cards, and, following the British custom, they played for pennies and sixpences—the limit of bets is not stated. Here it suddenly came out in the course of a light and agreeable conversation that the General understood the American game of poker, and he was requested to explain its mysteries to the company. This he very obligingly did, and at the request of the lady of the house finally reduced to writing the rules of the game. Somebody else went off and printed it on a "private printing-press"; and this is the foundation for the whole story. The main charge about General Schenck, however, in connection with poker is not, as has been said, that he is a professional gambler but that the honor and dignity of this country abroad are not well represented by a politician who is best known socially as a master of a low and demoralizing form of amusement, which principally requires for success, not skill, patience, and a good memory, but, as General Schenck elegantly expresses it in his little treatise, "plenty of cheek."

The complaint of the English stockholders lays great stress on the connection between the swindle and the reports of

Professor Silliman, making the same charge against him that was made by Mr. Paffard in the pamphlet a résumé of which we published some time ago, the chief charge being that he allowed himself to be improperly influenced, and in a measure connived at the swindle, with the understanding that he should receive five thousand dollars in any case, and forty-five thousand more if his report should be of the right sort. Mr. Silliman has written to the *Tribune* flatly denying all these charges, and expressing the hope that the action may be pushed to a trial, and his character thus be vindicated, at as early a date as possible. The Boston *Advertiser*, in copying this letter, intimates that Mr. Silliman is unfortunate as to charges. These same matters have been made the occasion of an accusation against him in the National Academy of Sciences, and also in the American Academy, and, though no definite action has been taken, Professor Silliman "has suffered much in his scientific reputation in consequence of these and similar reports to his prejudice." His friends, as well as those of Park, Baxter, Stewart, and Schenck, must be gratified that they all have an opportunity at last of satisfactorily explaining their connection with the mine.

The defeat of Mr. Carpenter in Wisconsin, to which his position in the Senate gives national importance, was due to one of those combinations between Democrats and right-minded Republicans by which so many other Republican defeats have been wrought during the past year. Eighteen of the Republican members of the State Legislature refused to go into the caucus which nominated him, and steadily refused to vote for him at the election. on grounds which they set out in a printed circular—viz., that they were either formally pledged at their election to oppose him or it was understood that they would do so. Inasmuch as the platform of the party at the late State election denounced among other things the *Crédit Mobilier* and the Salary Grab, both of which Carpenter had defended, they held that these resolutions operated as a dismissal of him from office, and acted accordingly. Moreover, they found on coming to Milwaukee that the majority of the committee appointed to call caucuses were composed of Mr. Carpenter's friends, who put off summoning the caucus until there had been time to summon a "tremendous lobby, composed in large part of minor Federal appointees, as well as several distinguished citizens in high official position." The result was the election of Mr. Cameron, a man of high character and at least fair abilities, and a Republican whom the Democrats declared their willingness to accept on a hard-money platform. What is most remarkable in the course of the anti-Carpenter Republicans is that it is a formal acknowledgment, and the first we have had for a good while, that the party is really bound in its action by the declaration of principles and policy contained in its platform. For some years back the Republicans have treated their platform as a literary essay which imposed no obligation on anybody, and have every year nominated and supported candidates for office who were the vehement opponents of its leading doctrines.

Carpenter's defeat is in some ways to be regretted. He was able, and on some questions now pending—Louisiana, for instance—was more clear-headed than most of his colleagues. But he was none the less a dangerous person, and was a prominent member of the class whom it behooves us, at all cost, just now to get out of public life—the glib, dextrous, unscrupulous, impudent, shameless, greedy, coarse class, which has become large and powerful since the war, to which politics furnishes simply a means of making some money and securing excitement, and which, by its influence over the weak, goody class, is every year dragging the Government into deeper degradation. Carpenter was a genuine Butlerite—not the worst of his kind, but still bad. He enjoyed life on its sensual side, cared nothing about character, liked money and was not particular as to how he got it, as his relations with Kellogg showed, and was, in fact, a kind of person whose presence in the Senate is a disgrace as well as a danger. To be rid of him and Mr. Chandler would be a great gain, even if they were not replaced by men as respectable as Messrs. Christiancy and Cameron. These two defeats

are calling the attention of the party still more forcibly than ever to the increasing gloominess of its prospects. The Democrats will have a clear majority of 70 in the next House, and the comfort which it was at first thought could be extracted from the composition of the Senate begins to fade. Of the 25 Senators whose terms expire in March, 17 are friends of the Administration, and 19 of their successors will almost certainly belong to the Opposition; so that the Administration will in the next Senate probably have only 41 votes against 33, and in these times, when the hearts of good Republicans are failing them for fear, a majority of eight is a very slender reliance.

English politicians have been occupied with the selection of a successor in the House of Commons for Mr. Gladstone, and the choice has fallen on the Marquis of Hartington, whose qualifications for the place our London correspondent sketched some weeks ago. The *Economist* made to him in advance the very weighty objection that as Lord Granville was to be the leader in the upper house, it was very undesirable to take the leader of the lower house from the highest and most aristocratic class also. The Commons, in fact, nowadays need to be led by some one who is in complete sympathy with the bulk of its members, which a man of the Marquis of Hartington's position can hardly be said to be. Mr. Forster is thrown out by his having offended so many Liberals by his Education Bill, but the rejection of him on this score is regretted by the most far-seeing men of the party. Mr. Gladstone, beyond doubt, will give himself up largely to literature and theology, and will probably figure prominently for a few years as a writer of pamphlets and reviews. He has addressed to the American public, through Dr. Schaff, the request he has already made to the British public, that people who write him letters in a state of excitement about the Pope will excuse him for not answering them.

The only other topic to which the English press has been devoting itself with any zeal is the case of Rubery v. Grant, which has ended in a verdict of £500 for the plaintiff. The *Times* poured forth a burst of indignation over it against Sampson, its guilty city editor; and said that if it had had the smallest conception of his relations with Grant, it would have got rid of him long ago. Sampson then published a letter, saying he was going of his own accord long before this happened, to which the *Times* replied through its solicitor, saying that his dismissal had been resolved on before this affair occurred, as certain correspondence would show. The papers have all discussed the affair from various points of view, but none of them throw much light on it except the *Economist*, which, of course, considering the power that Sampson has had for many years over all new financial schemes, approaches it with much interest, and offers the English morning papers some advice apropos of it which we cannot help condensing for the benefit of our daily contemporaries, none of whom seem to have seen it. We beg also to call the attention of the religious, and especially the deeply religious, press to it:

"(1) To make the situations of those who supply such important intelligence (the money article) so good that they ought to wish to keep them, and are not tempted by poverty to take bribes or to misuse their influence.

"(2) Not only to appoint the best and most trustworthy persons to these situations, but to watch with an incessant attention what is the nature of the intelligence which they bring, and what of that which they do not bring. The last is as necessary to consider as the first. If an influential writer has before him A, B, and C, and if he exposes A and B, but leaves C unmentioned on, or puts it among fair speculations without remark, he gives C the command of the market as far as he can.

"Thirdly, the public should learn to follow with less confidence than they sometimes do some of these unknown guides. They should attentively enquire before they invest their money in reliance on assertions, what sort of person it is who makes them, what is his ability to judge, and what his *bona fides*. If they do not do so, they will probably be ruined."

This last rule applies with peculiar force to "Publishers' Departments."

THE CASE OF ARKANSAS.

AS might naturally have been expected, the Arkansas carpet-baggers were encouraged by the success of their brethren in Louisiana in the expectation that the Government might, before the present Congress adjourned, be induced to interfere by force to restore them to the power from which the people of that State had driven them. A powerful lobby of these adventurers, led by Dorsey, Clayton, and Brooks and McClure, have been working might and main ever since last fall to induce Congress or the President to set aside the constitution then adopted and overturn the existing State government elected under it. A committee of the House was appointed under their solicitation to rouse "the sleeping giant," by enquiring whether Arkansas had a "republican form of government," but really to find out whether the constitution submitted by the Baxter legislature to the people, and adopted by an overwhelming majority, had been lawfully submitted and lawfully adopted, and whether it would not be well to upset the existing State organization, and let the carpet-baggers build it up again under the protection of the Department of Justice and the army and navy. The committee has made an excellent report, of which we give a summary elsewhere, finding that though Brooks was rightfully elected, yet that the present constitution had been lawfully adopted, and that the State was peaceful, but making no recommendation. The President has, however, entirely disregarded this report, which has been made after long and careful enquiry, and has sent in a message of the most extraordinary character, denouncing the adoption of the present State constitution as a "revolutionary proceeding," and recommending Congress to interfere forcibly. What makes this performance all the more surprising, not to say alarming, is that the Cabinet had no notice of it, and that even the faithful Williams does not seem to have been apprised of it. One does not need to accept the ill-natured suggestion of the correspondent of the *Tribune*, that the President consulted nobody about the matter except "Boss" Shepherd and General Babcock, in order to see in this last message a striking confirmation of the prediction on which we ventured four weeks ago, that his growing infirmities of temper "would cause a good deal of trouble and anxiety before his term of office expired." By infirmities of temper we meant that intractability, or combativeness, or "ugliness," as one pleases to call it, which, combined with freedom from the traditions of civil life, led him to renominate Shepherd for the governorship of the District the minute Congress had legislated him out of the same office for corruption, and led him to invite Harrington to a party at the White House while this person was on trial for a criminal charge arising out of the operations of the District Ring. He was not very sensitive to public opinion when he took office—successful military men, even when their training is better than his, hardly ever are; and the criticism of one sort or another to which he has been subjected seems to have aroused in him a spirit of sullen defiance of it which we fear promises troublous times when the majority in Congress is no longer friendly to him. If this last message had been intended to show civilians that he did not care two straws for their opinions, it could not have been more effectively drawn, and, indeed, it has a ring of indifference to the usages of civil government, and to the considerations and processes on which political action in constitutional countries is always based, which one can hardly hear without vague alarm.

His course is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact that this Arkansas affair, and especially the validity of Brooks's election, has been already before the General Government, and was passed upon by the President and his Attorney-General with unusual deliberation last year. Baxter, Brooks's opponent, was, be it remembered, counted into office by the State legislature, and Baxter took and held the office for over a year without disturbance. Brooks then suddenly invaded the State-house at the head of an armed force and ejected Baxter, and there followed a state of "war," and an appeal to Washington, pending which the peace was kept by United States troops. The Attorney-General then de-

cided that under the State constitution the legislature had the sole authority to determine contested elections to the governorship, and that, as it had decided at the canvass in favor of Baxter, Baxter was the lawful Governor, and Baxter was accordingly seated in his place by Federal force. Soon after, this same legislature passed an act providing for a Constitutional Convention. The convention was peaceably elected, met, and drew up a constitution, which was submitted to the people, and adopted by an overwhelming majority. The validity of this constitution has been examined and confirmed by a Congressional committee; Judge Jameson has given an opinion that it is as good as any constitution in the country; and there is no pretence that the State is not peaceful and prosperous under it. Nevertheless, in defiance of all this, the President now comes forward and recommends Congress to disregard his own deliberate decision of last May, the opinion of its own committee just rendered, and that of the best lawyers in the country, and authorize him to overthrow the State government and put into the hands of army officers the duty of canvassing the votes, confided to the State legislature by the constitution of 1868, the validity of which nobody has disputed. It would be impossible to comment on all this adequately without using stronger language than it seems as yet desirable to use, and we shall consequently content ourselves with submitting the facts to the calm judgment of our readers.

We have no doubt that the great majority of the American people, without more than a general knowledge of the case, think that the best thing for the President to do about Arkansas is what he is doing about New York; think, in short, he ought to concern himself exactly as much about the legality of Governor Garland's election and the validity of the constitution of Arkansas as he concerns himself about the legality of Governor Tilden's election and the validity of the recent amendments to the constitution of this State. This is plainly the course which his oath of office makes imperative and that public opinion calls for. But we will ask our readers to forgive us for boring them once more with a subject which in another month we hope to quit for ever, while we submit some fresh facts, showing that not only is it the legal duty of the Administration to stop meddling in Arkansas, as in other Southern States, but that expediency and justice of the highest order require it to do so.

Arkansas has not suffered as much from the carpet-bag régime as Louisiana, because it had not, as Louisiana had, a wealthy, complex, commercial society; but it went through the same curious process of spoliation as the other Cotton States—a process which, like the Ring frauds in this city, future historians will find interesting as illustrative of the way in which the machinery and public credit in a modern state can be used by knaves of the lowest class for their own benefit. In 1868, the carpet-baggers everywhere came into power in those States of the South where there was a large negro vote under new constitutions, got up under the superintendence of Congress, and with the aid of the proscription of the persons who had lent aid to the rebellion. In Arkansas, they found a bonded debt of \$3,252,401, no floating debt, and a balance of \$319,237 in the treasury. In the following six years—that is, before October, 1874, when they were ousted—they had increased the bonded debt, under one pretext or another, by \$8,753,444, and had created a floating debt of \$1,864,721. Some of the bonds were issued for "public improvements," such as raising levees to protect the rich bottom-lands from the overflow; but there was absolutely nothing done for the money, except the erection of a few buildings, which are valued at about \$100,000. In fact, to speak plainly, they imitated the Georgia speculators, and divided the money among themselves.

The exhibit as regarded the State expenses is equally pitiful. The expenses of the State government should not, it is estimated, in a simple agricultural community like Arkansas, exceed \$300,000 a year all told. The carpet-baggers, however, actually levied in taxation about \$1,100,000 per annum during their six years' reign, or \$6,674,511 in all; of this, \$515,204 went, during the whole period, to pay interest and keep up the sinking fund, and the rest, or

about \$1,026,551 per annum, went for the ordinary expenses of the government. Add to the amount received in taxation during the six years the amount of the floating debt created, and we have a total of \$8,539,232 spent by these wretched adventurers in keeping up a kind of caricature of government, with the United States at their back, when a good government ought not to have cost over \$1,800,000 for the whole period. In fact, their six years' rule has cost this young State, just emerging from backwoods barbarism, over \$17,000,000, and they have actually had the audacity to go to Washington, after having made away with the money, and ask the Government to use the army and navy to put them once more in possession of the treasury they have plundered.

The new State government, which has been elected by the people and is composed of honest men, is now trying to infuse order into the finances. It has not only found the treasury empty, the State credit gone and its bonds unsalable, but has found the revenues anticipated for three years at least by outstanding auditor's warrants and treasurer's certificates, which had been made receivable for all public dues except interest on the public debt.

In order to fund this floating debt, and so obtain control once more of the State revenues, the present government proposes to issue bonds, for which these warrants and certificates shall be receivable, fixing a rate at which they may be sold for cash, the money to be used in taking up the warrants and certificates, and, as part of the contract, pledging the State to levy a special tax every year sufficient to pay the interest on the bonds and create a sinking-fund for their final redemption. The Governor is also authorized to have the lands of the State, except the school lands, sold for the same purpose. We believe that under the new constitution the State has been rapidly reviving. It has been brought into railroad connection with a great market at St. Louis within the last year; and as its natural resources are vast, and the great bulk of the population really sober, honest, and peaceable people, emigration is beginning to find its way in very rapidly, and it is safe to predict for it, as soon as Congress adjourns and all fear of the army and navy is removed, a career of great prosperity. With the growth of industry and of material wealth and the spread of education—for it has now its schools—the manners will undoubtedly improve, and the habits of turbulence bequeathed by slavery and frontier life gradually disappear. The great forces of civilization are nowhere dead among the race which has reclaimed this continent and is now founding a great empire in another wilderness in the Southern seas. It may sometimes seem as if a passing wave of barbarism, like slavery, would overwhelm them; but we shall only have to wait a few years to find them working once more with remorseless and untiring energy, building up prosperity on character and covering liberty with law. The unfortunate condition of the Southern States will seem, a few years hence, but a trifling episode in the history of that majestic progress. The scalawag and carpet-bagger will have followed the slaveholder into the limbo of half-forgotten curiosities, and people will smile over the hallucination by which many of us in this generation are possessed, that it is possible for a few smart attorneys to provide by bill and resolution a governmental substitute for the austere courage which turned the tide of battle at Naseby, and the splendid political sense which has created the American Republic. It will be said of the Republican party, too, which is now passing from the stage of events, that, while it had the rude and fanatical energy which was needed to suppress the rebellion and extinguish slavery, it had neither the wisdom nor the skill nor the foresight to assist the unfortunate communities which the struggle had devastated to build up a new and better civilization on the ruins of the old one, but that it hindered and vexed them in their very first efforts to rise, by maxims and expedients borrowed from the arsenals of ruined monarchies and the dreams of sentimental philanthropists. That the chapter which tells the story of reconstruction should have to follow in American history the chapter which tells the story of the war and of emancipation, is something over which many a generation will blush.

AN INSTRUCTIVE RETROSPECT.

ANYBODY who will take the trouble to turn to the files of the daily press for the year 1867, and will read in them the reports of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson and the editorial comments on it, will find in them much matter for serious though by no means melancholy reflection. In fact, most of it will, we regret to say, furnish food for exceeding merriment. According to most of the leaders of opinion in the Republican party at that period, the trial of Johnson for high crimes and misdemeanors was the most tremendous legal process ever undertaken by a civilized people since the condemnation of Socrates, and for two reasons. The first was that Johnson's crimes and misdemeanors actually beggared description. They made the nomenclature of criminal jurisprudence seem feeble and trivial. Many of the orators and newspapers tried to give some faint idea of them by calling him "the greatest criminal of this or any other age," which was tantamount to saying that, in order to form a fair estimate of the depths of his guilt, you would have to ransack the history of crime since the first recorded Olympiad, even if you took no count of the iniquities of the antediluvian population. No ancient or modern tyrant or conspirator could, to speak familiarly, hold a candle to him when he was at his worst, and doing the things he most loved. The second reason was, of course, that his retention of the Presidency endangered the existence of the Republic. It was declared boldly that he would probably, if let alone, use the army and navy to overthrow the Government and establish himself as some kind of despot, and repudiate the public debt. It was useless to point out that as Congress was very hostile to him, and as the country stood by Congress, he would probably be worsted at a very early period of an armed struggle—not being himself much of a strategist, and having no resources beyond his farm in Tennessee. The great minds of the party would not hear of his being let alone. Thaddeus Stevens said that his "corrupting of the voters of the nation by seducing them with offers of office and intimidating them by threats of expulsion, was more heinous than that which brought many ancients to the block." As this—viz., the use of the patronage of the Government to reward his own supporters—was the very least of his offences, the gravity of the weightier ones may be imagined.

They accordingly got up a tremendous trial of this Tennesseean Catiline. They had "articles" and "managers of impeachment," and a "high court of impeachment," and an "Apostle John of Salvation by impeachment" in the person of Butler, and a "cold and classical Demosthenes" and a "black-haired Energy," and "a steady Wind blowing aft," in the person of Mr. Boutwell, among the managers; and Butler opened the case in a speech which, one impeachment paper said, "sounded like the screeching of a hundred saws commingled with the rumbling of an artillery carriage across rough pavement," and when he got to some portions of the President's career even his resources failed him, and he threw round the criminal "the merey of his silence." Boutwell, "the black-haired Energy" of the case, was so overcome by the spectacle of Johnson's crimes that he uttered the wish that the unhappy culprit could be projected into that portion of space in which the astronomers discover a remarkable lack of stars, and which the orator called "the hole in the sky"—this being, in his opinion, the only portion of the universe in which such a wretch could be properly and safely accommodated. Other papers called on the pious people all over the country to offer up prayers to Almighty God for the conviction of the monster and to "burden the mails" with letters to senators begging them to find him guilty, no matter what the law or the evidence might be; and our readers will all remember the coarse and brutal bullying of the minority of the Senate which was practised by a portion of the press and of the politicians, under the lead of the "Apostle John," in order to press them to vote "yes" on some article or other.

Turning to the charges contained in the articles, they have at the short distance of even seven years a very comic air. The Great Criminal had dismissed an officer of his Cabinet who opposed his "policy," and tried to put another man in his place. He had told

the commanding general in Washington that the law directing orders for a change in the disposition of troops to be sent through the general of the army was unconstitutional, and he had made several foolish and violent and abusive speeches about Congress "in a loud voice." These were the whole of his high crimes and misdemeanors. He was not convicted, and he went out of office peacefully, and went back to his village in Tennessee. Ben Wade did not take the Presidential chair in his stead, to be used as the tool of a band of unscrupulous and reckless politicians, and Butler's powers of mischief were not increased, and his great coadjutor, Mr. Boutwell, had to turn to the novel subject of finance to quench the flames of his zeal. In fact, the whole affair passed off like a noisy supper-party, leaving a large number of philosophers and patriots with aching but wiser heads; and now, after seven years' retirement, Johnson comes back to the Senate amidst the good-humored laughter of the people whose ruin he was accused of compassing. There has rarely been a more amusing episode in the history of any people, nor a better illustration of the way in which an incident of really trifling importance can be worked up by the efforts of unscrupulous politicians, supported by unscrupulous newspapers, so as to wear the look of irretrievable disaster.

When Johnson himself now takes up the old articles and reads them his grim features must, in spite of his want of humor, often be lighted up by the broadest of broad grins, and, unless he has in his seven years' retirement lost some of his old fire, he will, when Congress next meets, treat the Senate to a speech in substance somewhat as follows: "I felt when I was under accusation that my enemies were making themselves ridiculous, and that I had done nothing wrong, and that though I was perhaps not one of the greatest or most decorous men who ever sat in the Presidential chair, nevertheless not only was I not the monster that I was painted, but worse men might come after me, and without being prosecuted or denounced. It is true I advocated a plan of reconstruction of which the party did not approve, but it was one which Lincoln devised, and which he, had he lived, would have carried out, and which it is now plain an honest and patriotic man might very well have supported. You have carried out your own plan, and you are actually boasting of its failure, and trying to prove to us every day that it has resulted in leaving the South in the worst possible condition. You confess that it has deprived the negroes of all protection for life or property and has impoverished the whites; and you must admit that a worse result than this mine could not have had. You said I was corrupt; but while I was in office I never accepted a gift, and I never put a relative in any place of trust or profit, or used the public service to promote my private interests or those of my family. I pardoned, doubtless, some very bad criminals, but no criminals of my pardoning ever found their way immediately afterwards into Government offices. I never offered to a prisoner under trial the hospitality of the national mansion in which I lived; nor had I ever the audacity, much as I despised Congress, to nominate for high civil functions a man whom it had just legislated out of office for gross corruption. My views on the national finances may not have been sound in all respects. I had not the advantage of all the discussion which the subject has since undergone, but I put the Treasury in charge of an experienced financier—not of an ordinary politician—who advocated and carried out as long as he was allowed the very policy for which the wisest of you are now striving. The Treasury was never made in my day the headquarters of a ring of informers and speculators, and, though you thought I was regardless of law, I never permitted such a tremendous assumption of power as issue of paper-money for political purposes, by a single man and in defiance of the opinion of a committee of the Senate. Nor did I ever take the funds belonging to the foreign service of the Government from the hands of a great banking-house, and give them to a Wall-Street adventurer with small capital and less credit. It is true I told Emory that the law directing orders to pass through the general of the army was unconstitutional, but I never shelved the general of the army completely and sent orders

without any regard to him, nor did any army officer, with my permission, ever interfere with the organization of a State legislature or issue vituperative proclamations directed against whole classes of citizens. Moreover, although I was not successful in bringing our differences with England to a happy termination, I honestly strove for that end as well as I knew how. I selected for the English mission one of the most distinguished lawyers in the country, who had half-a-century of honored private character behind him, and who, though he doubtless was over-gushing in his relations with our enemies, came back without leaving a stain on his name or on that of his country. No speculator or adventurer ever dared to approach him with any scheme for the spoliation of unsuspecting foreigners, and, so far as he was known in the society of the capital to which he was accredited, he was known for learning and ability and for an illustrious professional career; and if he did not conclude a treaty, neither did his successor. I made, it is true, some foolish and vituperative speeches; but you had in Congress plenty of men as foul-mouthed as I, whom you honored or laughed at; and if you expected me to become polished and self-restrained, choice in my language and in my company, you were more exacting toward me than you have been since towards others. My tongue may have been loose, and my temper bad; but I can at least say for myself that the affairs of state were the subjects of which I most loved to talk and think; that for forty years they had been my main interest; and that my own comfort or gratification or enrichment was never allowed to prevent any absorption in them; and that my friendships, such as they were, grew neither out of toys nor lust nor wine, but out of sympathy and agreement about public concerns."

ENGLAND.—WORKING-CLASS CANDIDATES.

LONDON, January 16, 1875.

IT is curious to notice from time to time how strongly English institutions are influenced by fictions and traditions which have no substance in them, but which nothing short of a revolution would induce English people to change. You find them in all the paths and even the byways of English life, and in every profession and nearly every trade. But, not to dwell upon a subject which might be spun out almost indefinitely, let me take one of the most common and least understood of these fictions, viz., the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, and explain what it means. If, I suppose, a member of any representative body in any civilized country of the world wishes to cease being a member, and to retire into private life, he sends in his resignation, and there is an end of it. But a member of the British House of Commons cannot resign his seat. He may become disqualified from sitting in that assembly by accepting some place of honor or profit under the crown, or by some other cause, but Parliamentary law does not permit him to resign. If, therefore, a member desires to retire from the House, he must set about and find an office which he can ask, even from his political opponents, without much risk of refusal, and, having got his office, he is disqualified as a member of Parliament from sitting in the House of Commons, and then, by resigning his office, he is at liberty to retire from public life. It seems a roundabout way of doing a simple thing, but it is the only way of doing it. The Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds is the office generally applied for in the circumstances. The Chiltern Hills are in the centre of Buckinghamshire—Mr. Disraeli's county—and Buckinghamshire is perhaps the most benighted county in England. The country people there know all about Hampden, and something about Oliver Cromwell, but about more modern English celebrities they are profoundly ignorant. If you speak to a Buckinghamshire peasant, for instance, about "the Prince," meaning "the Prince of Wales," he gazes at you, and, if he answers at all, will show that his mind, or what for courtesy we will call his mind, is running on Prince Rupert. "Parliament," if it suggests any sort of idea to such a peasant, suggests old traditions which he has heard from his progenitors of the Long Parliament and the Protector. But, however backward the Buckinghamshire rustics may be in the appreciation of modern history, they have their Chiltern Hills, covered still with beautiful beech forests, and in the old days these forests were infested by robbers. To restrain the robbers and to protect the peaceable inhabitants of the neighborhood from their inroads, it was usual for the crown to appoint an officer, who was called the Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds. Though the beech forests remain, the robbers have withdrawn from them to the more perfect seclusion of the slums of East London, and the office is now an ob-

solete sinecure, and but for the secondary object of enabling a member of Parliament to adopt a roundabout way of resigning his seat, it might be abolished to-morrow. But we cling to our fictions, and for the last century and a quarter, whenever a member of the House applies for the Chiltern Hundreds, it is granted (generally, though not invariably), on the understanding that the member instantly resigns it, and, his seat being vacated by his acceptance of office, a new writ is issued for the constituency which he had represented.

This roundabout process has just been gone through by Mr. Melly, the member for Stoke-upon-Trent, a borough among the potteries in Staffordshire, chiefly remarkable for having been at one time represented by Josiah Wedgwood, a descendant of the creator of the celebrated Wedgwood ware. Mr. Melly was a fussy, voluble politician, who will be no great loss to the House of Commons, but the contest for the seat which he has vacated promises to be a not unimportant one in English politics, inasmuch as by it the future attitude of the Liberal party towards what are called "workingmen's candidates" may be decided. Stoke contains a population of about 131,000, and the registered electors number 18,607. It has always been regarded as a Liberal borough, and, with one or two trifling infidelities, it has been generally faithful to that party. So confident were the local Liberals in their strength that they suffered three candidates—two moderate Liberals and a "workingman's candidate"—to stand for the two seats at the late election. The Tories, who are always alive to the chance of stealing a seat, and who have got a party organization infinitely superior to that of their opponents, brought forward one candidate, and secured one seat; the Liberals with their three candidates gaining the other. For the contest that is now impending the "workingman's candidate" has again come forward, and, up to the present time, no other Liberal has been entered. If things therefore remain as they are, there will be a fair fight with no favor between a strong local Tory and a workingman—the latter having been for thirty years a journeyman mason, and having been one of the working masons employed in building the Houses of Parliament. The House of Commons has never been closed against representatives of the working-classes. Before the old Reform Act (not to mention other cases), Orator Hunt of Preston notoriously represented that borough, and contributed more than one criticism, more candid than complimentary, to the Bill of 1831. At the general election which succeeded the passing of the act in 1832, William Cobbett, originally an unlettered private soldier in the army, and of the humblest origin, was elected to represent the borough of Oldham, and during the short time that he was in the House—for he died in 1835—he had earned for himself no small political distinction. From time to time since his death an occasional labor candidate has succeeded in finding his way into what is not unjustly considered "the pleasantest club in the world." But until the passing of Mr. Disraeli's Reform Act in 1867, by which the franchise was lowered to household suffrage, the attempts made by labor-candidates have been fitful and only rarely successful. There was little or no desire on the part of the working-classes to be represented; they had no organization for election purposes; and the race of paid and unpaid agitators for the representation of labor was not in existence. We have changed all that. There is now a "Labor Representation League" with a paid secretary and a squad of paid orators, and a local organization by means of trades-unions in nearly every important borough in the country. The "workingman's candidate" is fast becoming a formidable animal, and the hearts of the wire-pullers of the old Liberal party are failing them for fear when they see the ravages made in the most trusty constituencies by this new candidate for the suffrages of the householders. At the general election, no fewer than nineteen workingmen were put forward in England alone, and, although only two succeeded in securing seats, the success of the Liberal candidate in each constituency where they were put forward was imperilled, and in about half the constituencies thus embarrassed the Tory party gained seats, where, but for the workingman's candidate, they would have had but little chance. The most remarkable instance of Tory success achieved in this way was at Nottingham, where no less than four Liberal candidates stood, and two Tories were returned. Since the general election, the borough of Northampton, which of old was among the staunchest of Liberal constituencies, has been lost to that party and gained by their opponents through the candidature of a Mr. Bradlaugh, who calls himself the workingman's friend; and now there seems every probability that the borough of Stoke-upon-Trent, which has been as the apple of the Liberal whip's eye among boroughs, will be wrested from the Liberal party. Like the patriarch of old, the excellent whip of the party is going about wringing his hands and saying: "Nottingham is not, and Northampton is not, and they are going to take away Stoke-upon-Trent also."

To any one who watches the different phases of English political life, this attitude of the "workingman's candidate" presents some interesting considerations. Mr. Rathbone Greg, in his recent book of sinister augury called 'Rocks Ahead, or the Warnings of Cassandra,' dwells with emphasis on the fact that political power in this country has been taken, by Mr. Disraeli's Reform Act, from the propertied classes and handed over to the proletariat. The wage-earning class in the kingdom who are enfranchised by that act number about five million, against two million which represents the propertied or wage-paying class. Thus it is manifest that, if the proletariat care to do so and will work together, they have the power to return to the House of Commons, not a majority only of our legislators, but almost the entire body. Up to the present time they either do not know their power, or do not care to use it. But they are learning all about it rapidly. Six months ago they thrust their candidate into the field at Northampton, and now they have thrust the other Liberal candidate out of the field at Stoke. At first, this policy can have but one result. It "dishes" (to borrow the late Lord Derby's now hackneyed expression) the moderate and middle-class Liberals, and brings about the return of the Tory candidate. The middle-class electors will not vote for a workingman or a trades-union candidate, many of them being themselves master-tradesmen or small employers, in a state of chronic warfare with the operatives. They will either support the Tory or abstain from voting. In some constituencies the Tory wire-pullers, looking only to the present election and seeing the chance of snatching a victory, are short-sighted enough to favor the overtures of the labor candidate, and even to initiate them, with the view of dividing the Liberal interest. But this is a suicidal policy for the Tory party to adopt. They are the propertied classes in the country, and the more they encourage the proletariat to come to the front, the faster will that class of the community appreciate the full strength of its power. And who will chiefly feel the exercise of that power? Not the middle-class shopkeepers and master-tradesmen and small employers who make up an important section of the Liberal party. It is not material to them, as their earnings and modest fortunes will not excite the cupidity of socialistic agitators. But the great landowners, the old aristocracy, and the wealthy mercantile classes who make up the heart of the Tory party—they are the people who will suffer, and who will have to thank their own too clever wire-pullers for their sufferings. In a small country like England, with a circumscribed territory and an enormous population containing the richest and the poorest human beings in the world, all closely packed in a small island and almost rubbing shoulders with each other, attacks, direct or indirect, on property are sooner or later almost inevitable. It shows a lack of wisdom on the part of the propertied classes to help to hurry on so grave a contingency for the temporary gratification of winning a seat or two in the House of Commons.

There are, as I have said, some among us who look upon this severance of the working-classes from the political party to which they appear naturally to belong as embarrassing, and as another and a serious element in the Liberal disunion of the time. There are others, mainly the few restless, bitter spirits of the Positivist persuasion, represented by Professor Beesly and Mr. Harry Crompton, who hail the severance with joy as tending, no matter how remotely, towards the realization of their spiritual and political aspirations. But the majority, I think, of political observers look with equanimity upon this new departure, and would not be sorry to see a proportion of workingmen in the House of Commons, provided that they were bonâ-fide workingmen (such as Mr. Burt, the member for Morpeth) and not unscrupulous agitators or mere political adventurers. The aristocracy, they consider, have had their day, and the old Reform Act curtailed their privileges by admitting to the legislature the representatives of the middle classes. The middle classes have had their swing during the five-and-thirty years which elapsed between the passing of the two Reform Acts, and now it is only fair that the working-classes should have a turn. Lord Grey's Reform Act did not destroy the influence of the aristocracy. It only clipped their wings, and, arguing on the same analogy, they say that Mr. Disraeli's Reform Act will not destroy the influence of the great middle class. It will only lessen its omnipotence. This seems to me a not unreasonable way of looking at the matter.

P.S.—Since this letter was written, Mr. Gladstone has definitely resigned the leadership of the Opposition, and the newspapers and the clubs are singing a requiem over his political ashes, and are abusing, openly or covertly, those of his own party who have helped to dethrone him. Sir William Harcourt is at this moment the most unpopular man in England, but he will, I dare say, survive his unpopularity. It is a pity to make so much of him. What will be the next paragraph in the Liberal programme it is difficult to say. Lord Granville is the acknowledged leader of the

party, but who will lead in the Commons? Such opinions as I have been able to gather point to something like a Whig revival such as I suggested in my letter of October 29, under Lord Granville in the House of Lords and Lord Hartington in the House of Commons. The political history of the last forty years, if it is to repeat itself, points at something of the kind. After the old Reform Act a strong Radical government, which did great things, was followed in 1841 by a strong Tory government like the present. That was followed by a political lull under the management of the Whigs. Then came the new Reform Act, the late Radical government which did great things, and a strong Tory government which is now in power and likely to remain. If in the ordinary cycle of events we are to have a political lull under Whig management or its modern equivalent, we cannot have better managers than Lord Granville and Lord Hartington. It may, however, be under the Liberal-Conservative management of Lord Derby and Sir Stafford Northcote, but in this case I should anticipate that Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gathorne Hardy would be independent members of their respective Houses, and Sir William Harcourt and not improbably Mr. Lowe would occupy their places in the administration. And though I should not despair of the commonwealth in either of these contingencies, I should be curious to see the permanency of the revival tested when the Radicals are sulky, the working-classes in open hostility, and Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright sitting, not on the front bench but in the body of the House, and candidly criticising the management of affairs.

Correspondence.

A DISPUTED RAPHAEL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An acquaintance with Mr. Morris Moore, extending over the greater part of a year (1870-71), during which time I enjoyed frequent opportunities for the study of his very beautiful Raphael, the "Apollo and Marsyas," gives me a right to ask for space in your columns to reply to an article on the subject of Mr. Moore and his picture printed in the *Nation* of December 31. You place Mr. Moore's conduct and temper, in the controversy that was raised over his picture, in a very unfavorable light. But, granting that what you say be true, I, for my part, cannot see what a combative temper, and an old-fashioned liking for calling "a spade" "a spade," can possibly have to do with the genuineness of his Raphael or with his merits as a connoisseur. Different people have different ways of meeting assaults upon their characters and efforts to ruin their fortunes; but the list of good men and true who have expressed their feelings toward their enemies in Old-Testament English and in the Old-Testament temper is too long that Mr. Moore need be ashamed to add his name to it. If, however, he should see your notice of him, and should feel the need of a friend to sympathize with him as he reflects upon it, he may perhaps find some comfort in reading, a little further on in the same number of the *Nation*, your opinion of General Butler, whom you call—in English that I, for one, being no prude, do heartily approve—"one of the greatest rascals in the country—a liar, a cheat, and a demagogue." But when you try to put Mr. Moore in an unfavorable light by quoting the rough words he used towards Passavant, Waagen, and the rest of the "honest Germans" whom Prince Albert brought into England and set up in business, to England's great detriment, you leave the impression that Mr. Moore was a wolf, snarling and showing his teeth at a soft flock of gently-bloating German lambs; whereas the truth is they were as rough as he, and repaid him curse for curse, with usury thereto. "Vil menteur," "infame espion," "idiot and liar," cries Mr. Moore. "Libeller," "shameless," "base calumniator," "no lying invention too base," shout, in high German chorus, the lambs aforesaid. "Mr. Moore," however, as you justly observe, "seems to have had a bellicose temper," and the vituperations of his adversaries were the result, no doubt, of their German honesty. But let all this pass. Now that you have borne your testimony, pray allow me to bear mine, and to declare that, while everybody who knows Mr. Moore personally knows that he is a gentleman, accustomed all his life to the society of gentlemen, to which he was born and bred, he is also, not merely, as you charily allow, "a gentleman with some claims to a knowledge of art," but a true connoisseur with, in addition to great natural sensitiveness in art and a trained judgment, a wide and deep acquaintance with Italian art. He has gained this acquaintance in the only way in which it can be gained—not from the depths of his moral consciousness, not from books, though he is a close student, but at first hand, in the course of a long life spent in galleries and churches, not only in Italy—which he knows from end to end—but in Eng-

land, France, and Germany. He is the most unassuming of men, and will talk about anything with strangers rather than about art. He worships his Raphael, it is true, but he never asked anybody to come and see it—he has denied formally, over his own signature, that he ever asked Passavant to come and visit him or to give his judgment on the "Apollo and Marsyas"—and you might be all day in the room with his pictures, where they stand closely curtained, and never see them unless you asked permission.

Mr. Moore does not need my defence, and perhaps will not thank me for it. Nor would his Raphael need vindication any more than he if he had not brought down official ire on his head by his long, persistent, and partly successful war against Sir Charles Eastlake, who, as Director of the National Gallery, was responsible for the ruinous "cleaning" of the finest pictures in the collection. Mr. Moore twice compelled a Parliamentary enquiry into this matter of the "cleaning," and twice brought about Eastlake's resignation; but, as the protégé of Prince Albert, he was immediately reinstated (an English counterpart of Boss Shepherd and the Court of Claims), and that, too, in spite of remonstrances from men and journals that ought to have been listened to. Eastlake, besides his share in the ruinous picture-cleaning, had wasted the nation's money and lost its opportunities. He had bought for £500 a spurious Holbein, which was found out too late, got rid of at a heavy loss, and the blunder bundled out of sight. He had failed to buy the "Manchester" Michelangelo (always called a "Ghirlandajo," till Mr. Moore, in 1873, declared its true authorship), which was offered him for £500, and which he would not have at any price. It was in the thick of this losing battle of his with Mr. Moore that a double misfortune befell him: first, the discovery by Mr. Moore of this exquisite Raphael, and, on the heels of that, the discovery in the Venice Academy of the original drawing for the picture. The whole force of Government and official lie-power was turned on to prevent people from believing that Mr. Moore had bought a Raphael, at auction, and for a small price. And certainly, if ever lying were justifiable, it was in order now, when there was question of a picture admitted even by "honest Germans" to be "unquestionably a first-rate specimen of the finest period of Italian art," which had been on view for six whole days at Christie's, free in the sight of all London, and seen there by Eastlake himself, who pooh-poohed it and passed it by with "curious," thus adding another to his already fatal list of sins of omission and commission. Led solely by my interest in this picture, and with no personal end in view whatever, I have studied this uncomfortable story from end to end in blue-books, newspapers, and pamphlets, and my own mind is clear that if Passavant, or Waagen, or Eastlake had discovered the "Apollo and Marsyas," it would have been at once awarded its true rank and name, and been lodged in the National Gallery as one of its choicest treasures.

Permit me, too, a word about Passavant. This is not the place in which to show him up fully, but every one who goes to it for information he cannot find elsewhere will learn for himself the value of his absurdly overrated book, the 'Life of Raphael.' For a foot by which to judge this dry-as-dust Hercules, take the following bit of independent testimony: Mr. George Edmund Street, the distinguished architect, in his 'Gothic Architecture in Spain' (Preface to Ed. 9, 1869, p. vii.), writes: "Passavant, who has published some notes on Spanish architecture ('Die christliche Kunst in Spanien'), is so ludicrously wrong in most of his statements that it seems probable he trusted to his internal consciousness instead of to personal inspection for his facts." And Mr. Wornum ('Life of Holbein,' p. 50) exposes the ignorant credulity of Passavant and Waagen in another matter. As for the 'Life of Raphael,' it is not, in any true sense, a life at all, but a mere catalogue of Raphael's works, often incomplete, often wanting in essential facts—an ash-heap, where no ember of sympathy with his subject, no spark of perception, no living suggestion, rewards the searcher. The book itself is unsatisfactory enough, but you must permit me to wonder at your remark—"in the English translation published in 1872, no attempt is made by the translator to dispute Passavant's opinion"—that is, the opinion adverse to Raphael's authorship of the "Apollo and Marsyas." This English translation is a mere piece of hack-work made for the Christmas holidays by some person whose name the publisher has not thought it worth while to give, and who evidently knows only enough German to put it into awkward English with the help of grammar and dictionary. The author of this piece of not very creditable job-work doubtless little thought that he would ever be called into court as a witness.

As briefly as I can, I will now take up the remaining points in your article to which I demur. You assert that the picture "was ascribed to Mantegna." For the credit of connoisseurship, I am glad to be able to assert most positively that this manifestly absurd ascription was never made by anybody. For I do not call that an ascription which

comes in such an accidental way as this. The picture belonged to a Mr. Duroveray, who was never "a dealer," I believe, but, if he were, this picture was never offered for sale by him; but, having a particular affection for it, he always kept it hanging in his dining-room. When he died, it was sent to Christie's with his other pictures to be sold. The "Apollo and Marsyas" came to the auctioneer without any artist's name attached to it; but the exigencies of catalogue-making demanded a name, and some one suggested that of "Montagna," an early Italian engraver, remembering, no doubt, his little etching of "Apollo and Marsyas," of which a facsimile may be seen in Ottley's 'Early Italian Prints.' In the MS. of the catalogue, this name was accordingly given to the picture; but between the printer and the proof-reader it was changed in the printed catalogue to the more familiar "Mantegna." I have seen a letter from Mr. Christie himself to Mr. Moore, giving this simple explanation, and this is all the foundation there ever was for the statement that the "Apollo and Marsyas" was ascribed to Mantegna.

Nor did Count Cicognara, a justly-esteemed connoisseur, ever attribute the *drawing* in the Venice Academy to Benedetto Montagna. He, too, in examining the collection of drawings, and coming upon this one, remembered that Montagna had engraved the same subject, and, merely as a memorandum, wrote on the margin, "B. Montagna." Only this and nothing more. If, however, Cicognara did intend to attribute this drawing to Montagna, what must be thought of his claims to connoisseurship? Count Henri Delaborde, a good authority, thus disposes of this matter in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July 15, 1858: "Il est au moins vraisemblable qu'en inscrivant le nom du graveur sur le dessin, Cicognara aura voulu noter un souvenir personnel ou indiquer une comparaison à faire entre les deux ouvrages. Comment supposer en effet, qu'un juge aussi expert ait cru reconnaître ici la manière de Montagna, manière bien différente à tous égards, bien éloignée de cette délicatesse et de cette grâce?" We are not left, however, to suppositions. The sub-director of the Academy, M. Andrea Tagliapietra, who was present when Cicognara wrote the name of Montagna on the drawing, has testified that it was merely a memorandum of reference, and M. Francesco Zanotti, who was secretary to the Academy during Cicognara's presidency, has also asserted the same thing.

Let me now select from the mass of testimony for Raphael's authorship, from the list of names that among others contains those of Minardi, Flan-drin, Delaborde, Paul Mantz, Steinle, G. B. Cavalcaselle, Marianecci, J. J. Jarvis, W. W. Story, Seymour Kirkup, Cornelius, and Overbeck, the last two, as being Germans, as "honest," no doubt, as Passavant, and certainly as good judges as he of painting. Cornelius writes, "It would have been a piece of the highest good-fortune for art if there had existed another painter equal to Raphael who could have executed such a work as this." And Overbeck exclaims, "We have no need of documents, signatures, sketches, or studies of any sort to assure us that this precious painting, the 'Apollo and Marsyas,' is from the very hand of Raphael himself. In this work the young master cries with a lofty voice to all the world, 'As here Apollo presents himself already sure of the victory over Marsyas, so my genius here exalts itself above all comers, to conquer everything that ever was created in art.'"

As to the question, what is the money-value of this picture, supposing it to be allowed a work of Raphael, I would offer the following considerations. I never heard Mr. Moore say what he would sell the "Apollo and Marsyas" for, nor did I ever hear any of his friends say. In fact, well as I knew Mr. Moore, I never spoke to him on the subject. He is not a dealer, nor ever was, but a poor man living on a small inherited income, and yet rich in the possession of some valuable pictures which his skill as a connoisseur and his intimate knowledge of Italy have enabled him to acquire. He has occasionally sold a picture to raise money, just as Mr. Ruskin sold the "Slave-ship," and is all the time selling Turners and copies of Turner to raise the money when he needs it. But I never heard Mr. Ruskin sneered at as "a dealer," nor insulted as valuing his Turners at *bric-a-brac* prices. I do not believe that Mr. Moore ever tried to sell his picture for 500,000 francs. But, if he did, it is certainly not too high a price. There are few Raphaels more beautiful; none that can now be bought. It belongs to his best time. It contains the most considerable landscape he ever painted—a landscape, to use your own words, "rich, varied, and exquisite." It contains two figures, each full-length. It is in perfect condition, the panel on which it is painted being neither warped nor shrunk nor cracked; and the picture itself has never been touched by the cleaner or the restorer. It is one foot three and a half inches in height by eleven and a half inches wide, exactly the size of Raphael's "Vision of Ezekiel" in the Pitti Palace. These being the facts, compare with it the "Madonna del Libro," formerly the chief

treasure of the Conestabile palace in Perugia. This is a little circular picture, seven and a half inches in diameter, about the size of the top of a man's hat. The Virgin is shown at half-length; she holds the Child upon her lap, who is shown in full. There is but little landscape seen. This picture was for a considerable time offered for sale, and when it was bought in 1870 by the Empress of Russia as a birthday gift for her husband, she may be said to have bought it in open market, and to have competed with all the galleries, private collectors, and crowned heads of Europe. Yet she paid for this little piece 330,000 francs. If the "Apollo and Marsyas" be certainly by Raphael, it would seem to be worth at least 220,000 francs more than the "Madonna del Libro," supposing that you are rightly informed as to Mr. Moore's estimate of its money-value.—I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

CLARENCE COOK.

NEW YORK, January, 1875.

[We are glad to print Mr. Cook's testimony to the excellence of the little picture which, as we understand, Mr. Moore proposes to offer for sale in America. But we must repeat what we said in our original note concerning it, that there is *no* historical evidence to support the claim that it is the work of Raphael. On the assumption that it was painted by so famous a master, this lack of external evidence and the entire absence of tradition are difficult to account for. The temper of Mr. Moore, as shown in the manner of his assertion and maintenance of his conviction that the picture is by Raphael, is of more importance in the question concerning the authenticity of the work than Mr. Cook allows. It affects the confidence to be placed in Mr. Moore's judgment. The ablest connoisseur, free from all prepossession, is often at fault in the determination, from internal evidence alone, of the author of a work of art. In the present case the bias of possession and the personal interest at stake, both in respect to reputation and to money, must be taken into account. They would weigh for little had Mr. Moore, in the controversy that has been carried on concerning his picture, exhibited a calm and judicial temper. His ill-temper and bad manners have very likely done him wrong; they have certainly done harm to his cause, for the loss of temper by an advocate is apt to be regarded as a sign of his consciousness of the weakness of his case. Our correspondent must pardon us for remarking that the vulgar abuse of a respectable opponent is hardly to be excused on the ground that such phrases as "vil menteur" and "infame espion" are "Old-Testament English." The picture must stand on its own merits. They are doubtless great. An agreement of connoisseurs in respect to its author is not to be expected. The question whether or not it came from the hand of Raphael will remain an open one till evidence of a different sort from any now known to exist is brought forward. We can print nothing more on this subject from any quarter.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

K NIGHTS' 'American Mechanical Dictionary,' published by subscription by J. B. Ford & Co., and issued in parts, is now in its third volume, and will make about 2,500 pages in all, being completed probably in June. The engravings are most profuse (no less than 4327 up to the word *Rifle*), and none of them superfluous. The author is editor of the Patent Office *Official Gazette*, and has had unusual facilities for becoming acquainted with the achievements of American inventiveness.—Gen. James H. Wilson, writing from London, calls our attention to a typographical error in our necrology for 1874 (p. 10 of No. 497). The name of the late U. S. minister to Bolivia was there given as Gen. John T. Cuckton, instead of Gen. John T. Croxton—"a true patriot, a good citizen, an accomplished scholar, and a most gallant soldier, whose merits were only surpassed by his modesty."

—We are informed by Mr. Henry Wallis, who writes from 24 Brecknock Crescent, London, N.W., that the Mantegna photographs have been delayed by the ordinary mechanical difficulties in printing from such large plates by the permanent process, as well as by the very unfavorable light of the present winter season. "During the last four months," says Mr. Wallis, "our photographer has hardly succeeded in finishing as many sets. The one satisfactory thing is that the series makes a splendid work of art. Of

course the decay of the original pictures must be regretted. Still, enough remains adequately to show Mantegna's genius." Due notice will be given American subscribers when the prints are ready for delivery.

—The Philadelphia Board of Public Education have put into practical operation the method of enquiry as to public-school health suggested by Dr. Lincoln, of the American Social Science Association, and urged upon the Board by the Philadelphia Social Science Association. Two circulars have been issued, one addressed to the principals of the public schools in that city; the other to the local boards of school directors, requesting the appointment of a competent medical man to pursue the investigation of the hygienic conditions of the schools and the scholars. The first is arranged in seventeen questions, bearing upon the number of scholars and their distribution in rooms, the means of ventilation, the arrangement of light, the condition of the eyes of the pupils, the desks and seats in use, the general health of the school, and the average temperature of the rooms. The second is intended to be answered by a physician, and the questions, thirteen in number, are more technical—as to the average number of cubic feet to each pupil, the sensible condition of the air, the sufficiency of light, the system of ventilation, the appearance of the scholars, the kind of desks in use, and the cleanliness of drains, cellars, and privies. If the returns to these circulars are full and complete, the amount of information obtained will be very great, as the city of Philadelphia has four hundred public schools and one hundred thousand pupils. In order to attract attention to this enquiry, the Philadelphia Social Science Association will hold a meeting, at which Dr. Castle, an ophthalmologist of recognized skill, will read a paper on diseases of the eye peculiar to schools, illustrated by diagrams and drawings.

—It is Winnecke's comet and not Encke's, as the Boston papers have it, which has appeared lately in the morning. Encke's comet does not appear in the morning, but after sunset, and will soon be bright enough to be seen with an ordinary telescope; whereas Winnecke's is so faint, even at its maximum brightness, that fears were entertained by European astronomers that it might not be found at all, even by the most powerful glasses. Fortunately it has been found and observed, as we learn from the Boston *Transcript*, at the Harvard Observatory, and found "very near the predicted place," which we suppose must refer to the carefully computed ephemeris of Dr. Oppolzer of Vienna, who has given special attention to the theory of this comet. Winnecke's comet owes its importance not to its magnitude or brightness: it furnishes new material for determining by its perturbations the mass of Jupiter. It will appear again in 1880, but as the conditions for observing will be more unfavorable than at this appearance, it is well that it has been observed now.

—The *Revue des Deux Mondes* for January 1 contains an interesting article on the eucalyptus globulus, or blue-gum of Tasmania. It will be read with disappointment, however, by cultivators of the tree in this country who hope to obtain some light on the climatic conditions essential to its flourishing away from its native seat. The writer, M. Planchon, insists on the distinction that trees may be naturalized but not acclimated. They will either grow or not grow in a given locality, and experience alone can determine what region is suitable for them. Nor is there necessarily a reciprocity in this naturalization of plants and vegetables. From England, for example, numerous wild and cultivated plants have passed to Australia and thriven there, though generally deteriorating; but not a single Australian species has yet been propagated in England outside of ornamental gardens, where they are cultivated by thousands. Even in Southern Europe and Northern Africa, all that can be said of the eucalyptus is that it has been introduced but not yet naturalized—in other words, it still requires the care of man. The experience of the Cape of Good Hope, the Argentine Republic, of Cuba and California, is passed over by M. Planchon, who confines his attention to the shores of the Mediterranean. In Algiers the giant tree has prospered wonderfully, and already has given a new character to the landscape. Twenty years ago it grew there unknown, but cultivation on a large scale and with a purpose was not attempted till 1861-62. It now lines the railroads and highways, and is observable singly, in clumps, and in groves, so that it seems like part of the indigenous vegetation. In the south of France it thrives only where the orange tree does without artificial shelter, i.e., in the Eastern Pyrenees, the Var, and the Maritime Alps; the best-known sites being Hyères, Cannes, Antibes, Nice, Villefranche, and Monaco. Open-air cultivation has been tried at Montpellier, Marseilles, and Narbonne, but not without great risks and disappointments; and M. Planchon decides adversely on the climate of Languedoc and even of the western portion of Provence.

—In our Southern States the chief hope reposed in the eucalyptus is that it will overcome miasmata; and not without reason. The "fever-tree" is the name given it in Spain by the people of Valencia from a practical acquaintance with its properties. Not only does it absorb immense quantities of moisture from swampy soils, and give off a balsamic effluvium, but it furnishes the *materia medica* with a substance which is a febrifuge in the case of a large number of intermittent fevers; it has disinfecting and antiseptic qualities; topically applied to wounds it promotes cicatrizing; its leaves in a moderate infusion will supply the place of tea as a stimulating beverage, and rolled into cigarettes they have a soothing effect on the respiratory organs. Prosper Mérimée is said, in his last illness at Cannes, to have derived benefit in this way from the smoking of them. The eucalyptus essence has also been administered for bronchial affections in the form of lozenges; and a toilet article, of a powerful and very persistent odor, has been made of it. Great as are these uses, the tree is perhaps still more to be welcomed for its timber. Its rapid growth is not incompatible (as is usually the case) with a compact texture, whose value is heightened by the presence of resinous substances, eminently adapting the wood to resist salt water, and thus to play an important part in naval architecture. For the same reason it does not rot in the soil, and is used for railway sleepers, for posts and piles, for bridges, viaducts, etc., etc. Some of the allied species of the eucalyptus globulus are taller than it is, though mention is made of a blue-gum plank nearly 170 feet long. A single eucalyptus amygdalina has been known to surpass in height the Strassburg spire and even the Great Pyramid. For further particulars respecting the subject of this Note we must refer to M. Planchon's article, which is remarkable, considering that the author is a Frenchman, in suggesting how certain peculiarities of the blue-gum lend support to the development theory of the natural creation.

—On the 1st of January the thaler ceased to be the monetary standard of Germany, and the mark valuation was generally introduced. Three German *Reichsmark* in gold are equivalent to a thaler, 1,395 of the former being coined from a pound of fine gold. As the change now introduced still involves the gradual withdrawal of silver currency to the amount of three hundred million thalers, some time will elapse before the thaler will be virtually displaced by the reichsmark, and thus for the present in Germany, as in France, Belgium, and Switzerland, the double standard of gold and silver may be said to exist. And like these countries, Germany experiences at the outset considerable difficulty in maintaining the equilibrium between the two standards, owing to the disturbance in the relative values of gold and silver. France, Belgium, and Switzerland coin 200 francs from a kilogram of silver, $\frac{1}{10}$ fine, and 3,100 francs from a kilogram of gold of the same fineness, thus legally fixing the relative values of gold and silver as 1:15 $\frac{1}{2}$; and Germany, in substituting the gold for the silver standard, has taken the same proportion as a basis. Now, in reality, silver has for the past few years been steadily declining in value, so that a kilogram of fine gold has actually been worth more than 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ kilograms of fine silver, and speculative bankers have not been slow in taking advantage of this decline. They have found it quite profitable to buy silver at its present low price in London, paying for it in Napoléons d'or, and having it coined in France into five-franc pieces. In this way they have received for a kilogram of gold at least 16 kilograms of silver, the gain amounting to $\frac{1}{2}$ kilogram of silver, the expenses incurred being inconsiderable. The consequence of this continued exchange of gold for silver has been that France, Belgium, and Switzerland have been all but completely drained of their gold. The reverse took place in these countries at the time of the discovery of gold in California and Australia, when gold rapidly declined in value, silver almost disappearing from circulation. With the introduction of the gold standard in Germany a new field of speculation has been opened to English bankers, who, ostensibly for their trade in India and China, have lately bought large quantities of silver thalers, and now, by exchanging them in Berlin for gold at the rate of three marks for one thaler, derive a handsome profit from the operation. The German Government discovered too late that it had committed a great mistake in not melting its superfluous silver, and selling it in bars to London bankers, thereby preventing its reflux into the German Treasury.

—There is, in fact, no good reason why Germany, in establishing the relative values of its gold and silver currencies, should have adhered to figures which are so much at variance with the actual market value of the two metals, and disregarded the example offered by other countries. In the United States, since Congress first fixed the relative values of gold and silver at 1:15, the figures have been repeatedly changed to 1:16, 1:14.88, and 1:14.95. So great has been the demand for gold on the Prussian bank that its provisions have been found quite unequal to the occasion, and

in consequence there is a project on foot to hand over the entire administration of monetary affairs in Germany to a new *Reichsbank*, with the power of increasing or decreasing the currency in circulation, as occasion may require. The new bank is to have a capital of 40,000,000 thalers, the Government guaranteeing to the shareholders $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest on their shares, and reserving to itself one-half of the profits above this percentage. Along with the change in its monetary affairs, a curious reform has taken place in the postal service of Germany. All the foreign words of which until now the German postal vocabulary has been composed have been carefully weeded out of the language, and are replaced by purely German words. But the innovations are not in all cases happy, and some of them, such as the barbarous *postlagernd* for the universally-used *poste restante*, the German *Schulmeister* ought to look after.

—The historical literature of the year 1874 is unusually rich. Of writers who are recognized as standing in the first rank, or nearly so, in this department, we have new works or new instalments from Mr. Motley, 'History of John of Barnevelt'; Mr. Bancroft, Vol. X.; Mr. Parkman's 'Old Régime in Canada'; Vol. V. of the translation of Curtius's 'History of Greece,' closing the work; Von Sybel, 'Die Revolutionszeit,' Part 1 of Vol. V., embracing the year 1798; Giesebrecht, 'Die Deutsche Kaiserzeit,' Vol. IV., Part 2, completing the reign of Conrad III. The fifth volume of Long's 'Decline of the Roman Republic' finishes his work at the death of Julius Caesar; the fifth volume of Ewald's 'Volk Israel' does the same, reaching the time of Christ; Hausrath's 'Neutestamentliche Geschichte' is also brought to a close with the time of Hadrian (Vol. III. Part 2), as is Ebert's 'Geschichte des Preussischen Staats,' whose seventh volume comprises the period from 1815 to 1871; J. G. Droysen's 'Geschichte der Preussischen Politik' has reached the time of Frederick the Great; and the most important recent volumes of the new edition of Ranke's collected works are the 'Twelve Books of Prussian History'—nine in former editions, the enlargement being chiefly in the earliest times; Hefele's 'Conciliengeschichte' ends (Vol. VII.) with the Council of Florence (1439), and the first volume has already reached a new edition; Arnold Schäfer's 'History of the Seven Years' War' has reached the second part of Vol. II. In the field of constitutional history we have at least four books of the very first rank—the first volumes of Marquardt's 'Römische Staatsverwaltung' (Organization of the Empire); the first part of the second volume of Mommsen's 'Römisches Staatsrecht' (the Magistrates); the fifth volume of Waitz's 'Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte,' embracing the period of the Saxon House; and Vol. I. of Stubbs's 'Constitutional History of England,' reaching the Magna Charta. Mr. Freeman has published very little during the year—a ground for hope that his fifth volume is making progress. His 'Historical Series' has had added to it histories of Italy, by Mr. Ward, and Germany, by Mr. Syme. The commencement of Mr. Morris's series, 'Epochs of History,' is an event of no slight importance; the volumes, although small, contain the ripe results of men who are authorities in their respective fields. The four volumes already published are 'The Protestant Revolution,' by Mr. Seebohm; 'The Crusades,' by Mr. Cox; 'The Thirty Years' War,' by Mr. Gardiner; and 'The Houses of Lancaster and York,' by Mr. Gairdner. Mr. Cox has also published two volumes of a history of Greece, reaching to the year B.C. 404.

—Of other histories of value we may mention Lenormant's 'Les premières Civilizations,' being a presentation of the most recent results in the field of prehistorical archaeology and in the histories of Egypt, Assyria, etc. Markham's 'History of Persia' also belongs to Oriental history, and Schneiderwirth, 'Die Parther,' and Hoffmann, 'Antiochus IV., Epiphanes.' In classical history there is little besides that already mentioned, except Stahr's 'Tiberius,' which has excited great attention on account of its attempt at vindicating the character of this emperor. Mr. Bosworth Smith's lectures upon Mohammed have received high praise. Simson's 'Jahrbücher' of the reign of Louis the Pious is a valuable addition to the valuable series of 'Jahrbücher' of the Emperors. Of local histories there are Ralston's 'Early Russian History'; Von Muchar, 'Geschichte der Steiermark,' Vol. IX. (finished); Sprecher, 'Die Republik der Drei Bünde'; Fock, 'Aus der letzten Tagen der Pommerschen Geschichte,' Vol. VI. Kraus's 'Lehrbuch von Kirchengeschichte' (Trier) is pronounced an excellent compendium from a Catholic point of view. Prof. Fisher's 'History of the Reformation' has received warm praise from nearly all quarters. Karl Fischer's 'Geschichte der auswärtigen Politik und Diplomatie im Reformationszeitalter' is a valuable contribution to the history of this period, and so are Maurenbrecher's 'Studien und Skizzen.' The eminent historian Gregorovius, having completed his 'Geschichte der Stadt Rom,' has published a life of Lucrezia Borgia, in which this notorious woman is shown to have been rather a commonplace character, and innocent enough, considering her

time and surroundings. We describe below a life of 'Lorenzo the Magnificent,' by Von Reumont. Prutz's 'Geschichte des Kaisers Friedrich I.' is too important a work to be passed over, although it is thought hardly worthy of its subject. Mary Queen of Scots has received unusual attention in the third closing volume of Hosack's work in her defence, in Petit's 'Mary Stuart,' also in vindication of her, and in the publication of the letters of Sir Amyas Paulet. We will also mention a second series of 'Historical Essays' by Van Praet: a 'History of Japan,' in two volumes, by Mr. P. O. Adams, formerly British Chargé d'Affaires at Yedo; Mr. Stillman's 'History of the Cretan Insurrection'; Green's 'Short History of the English People'; Von Holst's 'History of the United States'; Ott's 'History of Scandinavia'; the commencement of Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft's 'Native Races of the Pacific Coast'; and 'The History of the Late War,' by the Comte de Paris. Works in this field are also Flint's 'Philosophy of History' (Vol. I.), and George's 'Genealogical Tables,' published by Macmillan. The most prominent of historians dead during the year have been Michelet, a brilliant and learned historian, who had, however, probably finished his work: Prof. Usinger of Kiel, an industrious and useful man; and above all Guizot, than whom no other living man ranked higher in this field, unless Ranke and Mommsen. His 'History of France' was left in a condition to publish to the end.

—The last number of the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur* (Neue Folge, II. Bd. 1 Heft), contains several articles of interest to students of English literature. The first is a new text of the Legends of St. Dunstan and St. Christopher, from the Laud MS. 108. The earlier text was from the Harleian MS. 2,277. The former, though somewhat fragmentary, is, as far as it goes, more complete and probably more like the original copy. In another article, E. Schmid discusses Marlowe's 'Faust' and its relation to the English and German Faust books. It has generally been supposed that Marlowe took the material for his play directly from the German popular Faust book. Schmid, however, shows by a collation of the play with the German and English Faust books, that Marlowe must not only have known the latter but used it for his tragedy. II. Böldker contributes a valuable article on English Songs and Ballads of the Sixteenth Century, which are contained in a MS. (Cotton. Vesp. A. 25) of the British Museum. Some of these have already been published by Wright and Halliwell in their 'Reliquæ Antiquæ,' but most of them appear here for the first time. The editor reserves for a future number the question of the dialect in which these songs and ballads are written. One of the shorter ones is so pretty that it will bear repeating, although it has already seen the light in Halliwell's collection. It is entitled "Change":

"After droght commythe rayne,
After plesur commethe payne.
But yet yt contynyth the not so.
For after rayne
Commythe droght agayne,
And joye after payne
And woo."

—Alfred von Reumont, the distinguished German diplomat and scholar, formerly minister at Rome and Florence, and author of numerous valuable works on Italian history, literature, and art, has lately published, in two volumes, a history of Lorenzo de' Medici ('Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico,' Leipzig), which will justly rank as his greatest work. Thanks to Mr. Roscoe's entertaining but extremely partial book on the same subject, there is probably no Italian of the fifteenth century so well known to the English public as Lorenzo de' Medici. Von Reumont's work embraces all points of view—historical, political, and literary—and perhaps no one was so well qualified to combine them in one book. His previous diplomatic career and profound studies in Italian literature and art have enabled him to produce a work of singular completeness, and which will be indispensable to any student of the fifteenth century. The first book gives a condensed account of the history of Florence to the death of Lorenzo's grandfather, Cosimo. The second book embraces the period from 1464 to 1470, the life of Piero and Lorenzo's youth. The conspiracy of the Pazzi, the war with Sixtus IV., and Lorenzo's famous journey to Naples fill the third book. The most interesting portion of the work for students of literature is the fourth book, which treats in the most detailed manner (occupying over three hundred pages) of letters and art during the fifteenth century, and offers some admirable metrical translations of various poems of Lorenzo. The fifth and sixth books complete Lorenzo's history with many interesting details of Florentine life. In several valuable appendices are given bibliographical notices, a chronological table, and genealogical charts of the Medici, Pazzi, Soderini, and Visconti-Sforza families.

—'Ch'o hok kai' is the title of a new hand-book of the Canton vernacular of the Chinese language, composed for domestic and business purposes

by N. B. Dennys. Mr. Dennys, who, we understand, has had the degree of Ph.D. conferred upon him by one of the German universities in recognition of his services to Anglo-Chinese literature, has attempted to meet a growing want. Hitherto, nothing worthy of the name of a "method" of learning Cantonese has ever been produced. That the present work has been adopted by the Hongkong Government as the text-book for its interpreters, police, and Government schools, argues that he has met with fair success. The work is handsomely got up, being issued from the *China Mail* press, whence also comes the *China Review*, a publication we have frequently noticed. Messrs. Trübner & Co. are the London agents of the 'Ch'o hok kai.' The last number of the *Review*, by the way, which has come to hand (Vol. III., No. 2) is unusually interesting. The leading paper is an account of audiences granted by the emperors of China to Western envoys since 1820. This is followed by one on the "noble art of self-defence" in China, based on a Chinese pamphlet professing to teach the art, and illustrated by comical native views of the *modus operandi*. "The Hsi Yuan Lu, or Instructions to Coroners," and M. Gubler's report to the French Academy on the Chinese materia medica, give one a glimpse of Eastern knowledge of anatomy and therapeutics, and this knowledge is more respectable than might be supposed, and more closely parallel or identical with Western notions of medicine, historic and actual. One finds not only our obsolete "doctrine of signatures" in full force with the Chinese, but also anæsthetic surgery of very ancient date. "Verily," as M. Gubler says, "we behold strange illusions; but they deserve indulgence, especially on the part of those whose ancestors have participated in them. When it was formally believed that Lungwort was a cure for phthisis, that Stone crop or Orphine expelled the gravel, and that the carrot dissipated the jaundice, modesty is a virtue indispensable to all."

MILL'S ESSAYS IN RELIGION.*

MR. MILL'S theological speculations cannot be properly understood unless account be taken of his education and of his philosophy. Being educated outside all existing religious beliefs, he never dissented from creeds the truth of which he never admitted. He approaches every form of religion in the spirit in which an unbiassed enquirer might, say in the time of Cicero, have weighed the respective claims of Stoicism and Epicureanism, and hence occupies a position quite different from that of a man like Mr. Greg, whose whole views are by his own honest avowal colored by the influence of early association and training. His attitude is even more different from that of theists like Theodore Parker, whose vehement dissent from orthodoxy is in part an expression of fervent belief in the dogmas of theism. Mr. Mill, again, devoted his life to assailing all the forms of *à priori* thinking, and hence, when dealing with theology, naturally refuses all confidence to the *à priori* theories either of dogmatic orthodoxy or of equally dogmatic scepticism. All theological problems are therefore, in his view, simply forms of the one great question, What are the religious truths (if any) which men can discover by the application of reason to the phenomena of the universe and of human nature? and his conclusions are the natural, if not the inevitable, results of his position and his philosophy.

The first question for every religious enquirer must be, What ground (if any) is therefor the belief in the existence of a Creator? There are philosophers who answer this and every similar enquiry by the dogmatic assertion that all speculation about the nature and attributes of the Deity is futile, and ought to be cast aside by men who perceive the inherent weakness of the metaphysical method. Mr. Mill at once rejects the easy method of solving great problems which consists in the bold assertion that they are incapable of solution, and, after weighing the various arguments in favor of the existence of a Creator, pronounces them all worthless with the exception of the so-called "argument from design." To this argument he ascribes sufficient force to make the existence of the Deity, at any rate, highly probable:

"In the present state of our knowledge, the adaptations in nature afford a large balance of probability in favor of creation by intelligence. It is equally certain that this is no more than a probability, and that the various other arguments of natural theology which we have considered add nothing to its force. Whatever ground there is, revelation apart, to believe in an author of nature is derived from the appearances in the universe."

The belief in the existence of an intelligent Creator being granted, what are the Creator's attributes? This enquiry is one which has rarely received the full consideration devoted to it by Mr. Mill. For deists have, as a general rule, when once they have convinced themselves of the existence of God, been content to ascribe to him all the characteristics, such as benevo-

lence, wisdom, and omnipotence, which religious persons consider the natural attributes of the Deity. That men should so easily have assumed that if a Creator exists he must infallibly possess the qualities both of omnipotence and perfect benevolence, is a curious proof of the slight extent to which even sceptics have attempted to form what we have heard described as an "inductive idea" of God. The easy assumption by which the mere existence of a Being, however great and powerful, is taken to be proof of his possessing certain attributes, is at variance with Mr. Mill's fundamental principles. Any one, he in effect argues, who infers the existence of a Creator merely from the phenomena of the universe, must of necessity attempt to discern his character by studying the nature of the universe, and by that process alone. If you "work through nature up to nature's God," you must infer him to be of such a character as he exhibits in the works of nature. Once admit this, and you are (as Mr. Mill maintains) driven to the conclusion that the Being by whom the world was created cannot be at once absolutely benevolent and omnipotent. The existence of any suffering whatever is sufficient to support this thesis. The admitted existence of a vast mass of suffering proves it to demonstration.

"Writers on natural theology have exhausted the resources of sophistry to make it appear that all the suffering in the world exists to prevent greater; that misery exists for fear that there should be misery—a thesis which, if ever so well maintained, could avail to explain and justify the works of limited beings, compelled to labor under conditions independent of their own will, but can have no application to a Creator assumed to be omnipotent, who, if he bends to a supposed necessity, himself makes the necessity which he bends to. If the maker of the world *can* all that he wills, he wills misery, and there is no escape from the conclusion."

From this hateful inference Mr. Mill escapes by the bold denial of the hypothesis on which it depends. That the Creator is infinitely more powerful than man must be conceded by any one who believes in his existence; but that the Creator is, strictly speaking, "omnipotent" is a dogma not supported by the appearances of nature, inconsistent with the very argument from design from which the existence of creative intelligence is inferred, since that argument implies a subordination of means to ends, and, lastly, opposed not indeed to the verbal statements, but to the religious consciousness of even the most orthodox believers, who have in effect always been prepared to save the goodness of the Creator at the expense of his power. "There is, further, a distinct preponderance of credence that the Creator desired the pleasure of his creatures." His works, in other words, give proof of the benevolence of God. His omnipotence is a mere fiction formed by the human imagination. Reject the belief in his absolute power, and it is possible to entertain a creed which is at once rational and moral:

"One only form of belief in the supernatural . . . stands wholly clear both of intellectual contradiction and of moral obliquity, which, resigning irrevocably the idea of an omnipotent Creator, regards nature and life not as the expression throughout of the moral character of the Deity, but as the product of a struggle between untiring goodness and intractable material, as was believed by Plato, or a principle of evil, as was the doctrine of the Manichæans."

All Mr. Mill's powers of lucid exposition and happy illustration are devoted throughout at least two-thirds of his essays to establish the doctrine that a belief in the Creator's benevolence can be maintained only by disbelief in his omnipotence. A mere abstract gives a most inadequate idea of the skill and zeal with which this doctrine is enforced. It is obviously the central dogma of Mr. Mill's theological belief, and is, in *his* eyes, the sole refuge from either atheism or a creed far more painful to every good and benevolent man than atheism itself.

If the probable existence of a benevolent, if not omnipotent, Creator can be safely assumed, what are the grounds for belief in the immortality of the soul?

Mr. Mill's reply to this enquiry is in effect that no conclusive answer is possible. Independently of the existence and benevolence of God, no proof of man's immortality can be given, and the assumption both of the Deity's existence and of his good-will to man cannot afford any sure ground for the belief that he is able, even if he wishes to do so, to endue mankind with immortal life. "The benevolence of the Divine Being may be perfect, but his power being subject to unknown limitations, we know not that he could have given us what we so confidently assert that he must have given; *could* (that is) without sacrificing something more important. . . . One thing is quite certain in respect to God's government of the world, that he either could not or would not grant us everything that we wish. We wish for life and he has granted us some life; that we wish (or some of us wish) for a boundless extent of life and that it is not granted, is no exception to the ordinary modes of his government. Many a man would like to be a Cæsar or an Augustus Cæsar, but his wishes are gratified only to the moderate ex-

* Three Essays on Religion. By John Stuart Mill. London: Longmans; New York: Henry Holt & Co.

tent of a pound per week or the secretaryship of his trades-union." Though there be no ground for believing in the immortality of man, there is also, it should be noted, no ground for disbelief. This is one of those rare cases in which there exists a total lack of evidence in favor either of an affirmative or of a negative conclusion. "There is in science no evidence against the immortality of the soul, but that negative evidence which consists in the absence of evidence in its favor." The attempts to prove that the soul cannot survive the body are, in fact, attempts to give to the teaching of a limited experience the force of absolute demonstration. "We must beware of giving *a priori* validity to the conclusions of our *a posteriori* philosophy. The root of all *a priori* thinking is the tendency to transfer to outward things a strong association between the corresponding ideas in our own minds; and the thinkers who most sincerely attempt to limit their belief by experience, and honestly believe that they do so, are not always sufficiently on their guard against this mistake." This caution, which is valuable in itself, has a most direct bearing on Mr. Mill's treatment of the last main topic of his essays, the right attitude of a rational man towards religious dogmas.

What should be the position taken up by a man anxious to believe the truth, and the truth only, towards the supernatural? This enquiry is the most interesting, and for practical purposes the most important, with which Mr. Mill deals. His answer is, however, by no means so clear as are the replies which he generally gives to the questions which he raises. It must, in fact, be admitted by any candid reader that Mr. Mill treats his topic in a different spirit in two different essays. The general effect of the treatise on the "Utility of Religion" is that a belief in the supernatural is, though permissible to a rational being, still of very dubious utility or advantage to mankind. The desire for immortality may, Mr. Mill urges, gradually expire, and the loss of this desire may, on the whole, be a benefit to the human race. "It seems to me," he writes, "not only possible, but probable, that, in a higher and above all a happier condition of human life, not annihilation but immortality may be the burdensome idea, and that human nature, though pleased with the present, and by no means impatient to quit it, would find comfort and not sadness in the thought that it is not chained through eternity to a conscious existence which it cannot be assured it will always wish to preserve." The tone of the later essay on Theism is different. The belief in the divine government and in the immortality of the soul is, if it can be rationally maintained, most beneficial to man. The truth of such belief, though only maintainable as a hypothesis, is still a supposition which cannot be disproved, and may be cherished by the most sober thinkers, not as a creed, but as a hope. This, which is true with regard to all the main doctrines of supernatural religion, is, as Mr. Mill contends, specially true of the hope of immortality. "The possibility of a life after death rests on the footing of a boon which this powerful Being who wishes well to man may have the power to grant, and which, if the message alleged to have been sent by him was really sent, he has actually promised. The whole domain of the supernatural is thus removed from the region of belief into that of simple hope, and there, for anything we can see, it is likely always to remain; for we can hardly anticipate either that any positive evidence will be acquired of the direct agency of divine benevolence in human destiny, or that any reason will be discovered for considering the realization of human hopes on that subject as beyond the pale of possibility." An indulgence in such hopes is, "while we recognize as a clear truth that we have no ground for more than a hope, legitimate and philosophically defensible. The beneficial effect of such a hope is far from trifling; it makes life and human nature a far greater thing to the feelings, and gives greater strength as well as greater solemnity to all the sentiments which are awakened in us by our fellow-creatures and by mankind at large." The following sentences conclude the essays, and sum up the last result of Mr. Mill's religious speculations: "To do something during life, on even the humblest scale, if nothing more is within reach, towards bringing this consummation (the final victory of good) ever so little nearer, is the most animating and invigorating thought which can inspire a human creature, and that it is destined with or without supernatural sanctions to be the religion of the future I cannot entertain a doubt. But it appears to me that supernatural hopes, in the degree and kind in which what I have called rational scepticism does not refuse to sanction them, may still contribute not a little to give to this religion its due ascendancy over the human mind."

Nothing in the essays is more characteristic of Mr. Mill, and nothing of more permanent value, than the attack on the easy-going acquiescence with which mankind accept the dogmas of divine omnipotence without even perceiving the difficulty of combining it with a genuine faith in divine benevolence. What should be specially noted is, that Mr. Mill's attack on optimism is grounded not on a logical utility but on a moral feeling. The strongest

and noblest sentiment of Mr. Mill's mind was a passion for justice. If such a feeling can by any possibility be termed exaggerated, we might say that his hatred of oppression reached excess. What he objects to in the popular view of the divine character is, that it is opposed to all sound ideas of justice. That any one man or Deity should cause or suffer to exist needless pain is, according to all human ideas, the height of cruelty and wrong. Pain, Mr. Mill argues, exists. The Deity is, according to the popular creed, omnipotent in the strictest sense of the word. He therefore causes pain to exist which is needless; since even supposing that the pain has an object, an omnipotent being must, *ex hypothesi*, be able to attain the object without causing the pain. You may, Mr. Mill in effect adds, go a great deal further than this. Not only does pain exist, but the whole universe is full of suffering, and of suffering which is manifestly unjust. If nature be looked upon as the simple expression of the Creator's character, the Deity may be feared for his power, but he cannot be adored for his goodness.

"Nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are nature's everyday performances. Killing, the most criminal act recognized by human laws, nature does once to every being that lives, and in a large proportion of cases after protracted tortures such as only the greatest monsters whom we read of inflicted on their living fellow-creatures. . . . Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them with the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nero or a Domitian never devised."

The passage of which these sentences are a small portion constitutes a long and bitter indictment against the injustice of nature. In several ways it throws strong light on the extent to which Mr. Mill was influenced by the combined sincerity and passion of his mind. His sincerity makes it absolutely impossible for him to pass over or ignore the existence of bitter pain and suffering throughout the universe. But while Mr. Mill's attack on optimism has a force which will be recognized by many of those who do not agree with his theological speculations, no admiration for a great teacher can conceal from any candid critic that in his view of nature Mr. Mill suffered unconsciously from the bias of overwrought feeling. In the sentence already quoted, his passionate rhetoric conceals what is very rare with him—distinct inaccuracy of thought. Killing is not the most criminal act recognized by human laws. A soldier or an executioner kills, and he commits no crime whatever. Murder is a crime, but murder is not killing, but killing under certain circumstances and with certain feelings and intentions. To give pain, and even the most excruciating pain, is not necessarily, if one speaks accurately, to torture. Everything depends upon circumstances and motive. Similar criticisms may be applied to almost all of the charges preferred against nature. What Mr. Mill does show is, that nature causes agony of all kinds to living beings. To show this is to point out, if not an insuperable, yet a very considerable difficulty in the creed which attributes at once unlimited benevolence and unlimited power to the Creator; but when Mr. Mill proceeds to treat nature as a criminal summoned before the bar of a court of justice, he passes from the domain of reason to the realm of rhetoric, and, moreover, fails in making out his case; because whilst he does show that nature causes pain (which is only asserting in rhetorical language that animated beings suffer pain), he cannot prove the existence of a wrongful intention, without which there can be no crime. Nature, further, like the devil, may be painted far blacker than she is, and Mr. Mill, it must in fairness be admitted, has in drawing her picture laid on dark colors with much too unsparing a hand. The indignant strain also in which he writes is not at bottom consistent with his view of the Creator's attributes, for if his power be limited there is no ground for indignation at the existence of evils which, it is highly probable, are irremediable. Mr. Mill's sensibility, if it sometimes leads him astray, certainly widens his sympathies. In his last work there is traceable a very distinct leaning towards orthodox Christian doctrines. Christianity, whatever its defects, cannot be charged with optimism.

The belief in an evil spirit, which is, of all orthodox dogmas, the most repulsive to modern deists, has some attraction to a writer who sees in the universe a constant struggle of good and evil. Mr. Mill rejects it, but only after examining its claims to reception with calm consideration. His moral feelings kindle in his mind an admiration for the teaching of Christ, which is expressed in terms which obviously excite some astonishment among those who are the most ardent disciples of Mr. Mill's philosophy. Carlyle showed his insight when he described his friend as an unconscious mystic. In Mr. Mill's fervent admiration for the teaching and mind of Christ, in his manifest inclination towards the Comtist worship of humanity, in the outbreaks of passion which are to be found mixed up with his driest logical or economical speculations, there are abundant traces of

indisposition towards what in a very wide sense of the term might be called mysticism. Yet the character of Mr. Mill's intellect, if not of his disposition, was strictly logical, and he entertained and through life acted honestly on the conviction that the attainment of truth was a matter of the reason and not of the heart. Hence he sympathized with Christianity, and he examined its evidences with respectful attention; but when he found that, according to his tests of truth, these evidences were unsatisfactory, he refused his belief to a creed which appealed to some of his strongest sentiments. Orthodox critics may understand Mr. Mill's attitude towards orthodoxy by comparing it with his relation towards the dogmas of Comtism. That Mr. Mill was much attracted by some of those doctrines is past a doubt, and, if other evidence were wanting, the 'Essay on the Utility of Religion' is conclusive proof that at one time, at any rate, he swayed very far towards the religion of Positivism. It is equally clear that he did not accept the creed of Comte's later disciples. He tested its claims by his canons of truth, and in the case of Positivism, as in the case of Christianity, refused belief to a system which pleased his imagination without satisfying the requirements of his intellect.

It is, of course, open to any one to maintain that Mr. Mill's criteria of truth were unsatisfactory, that the premises from which he started were too narrow, or the conclusions which he drew from them unsound. All these are matters well worth the consideration of any who investigate the truth of his theological doctrines. With these matters we have no concern. Our object is not to defend or assail Mr. Mill's teachings, but to explain his attitude towards religious belief, and to call attention to the honesty with which, despite the influence of feeling, he adhered to his convictions. This sincerity, combined with his logical acuteness, has led to one result which perturbs his more sceptical admirers. He has applied to the favorite formulas of his own school the same canons by which he has tested the most orthodox and generally accredited doctrines, and has frankly pointed out that these formulas are often unsound. Nothing, for example, is a more decisive mark of so-called scientific thinkers than their readiness to dispose of the whole question of miracles by the summary assertion that a miracle is, from the very nature of things, impossible. Such off-hand solutions of difficult problems are Mr. Mill's abhorrence. He rejects the dogma on which so many of his followers rely, and, with something like grim humor, treats it as a specimen of that "*a priori* thinking" which, in his view, is the main source of philosophical errors. In the same spirit he rejects as untenable the assertion often made, and still more often confidently assumed, that life and consciousness cannot possibly exist apart from material organs. Here he sees not an undoubted truth but simply an example of the "tendency to transfer to outward things a strong association between the corresponding ideas in our own minds." But what gives the greatest shock to advanced thinkers is that Mr. Mill in effect, if not in so many words, throws doubt on the validity of one of their favorite laws of history. Mr. Morley (of whose vigorous and honest criticism no candid reader can speak without deep respect) is perfectly right in the assertion that Mr. Mill's language with regard to Christ is inconsistent with the doctrine that even the greatest men are simply the expressions of their age. Mr. Mill obviously saw the difficulty over which his follower stumbles, and would, it may be presumed, have replied to Mr. Morley's attack, that if the laws of history did not conform to known historical facts, this might be a reason for correcting our notions of historic method, but was not a ground for shutting our eyes to the result of satisfactory investigation. Mr. Mill, in fact, throughout the whole of his writings, occupies substantially the same position. He gives the greatest scope to the imagination. On the other hand, he systematically attempts to regulate his belief in accordance with the conclusions of the intellect. In his own case, his character and training made it possible to preserve the nice balance between sentiment and reason, and his own exceptional experience led him into what must fairly be termed the delusion that the mass of mankind could safely cherish hopes for which there is (on Mr. Mill's theories) no rational foundation. This illusion gives an appearance of moral casuistry to one portion of his last work, but attentive readers easily perceive that Mr. Mill's advice to cherish hope, though it may lead to intellectual dishonesty in others, is given by him in perfect good faith. What will be the permanent effect of his religious speculations neither assailants nor admirers can at the present moment predict. It is possible that he may induce some few of his sceptical disciples to reconsider the value of their formulas. But the main effect of his work will lie not so much in its direct teaching as in its indirect influence. It may be inadequate. As a theological treatise it will always be the weighty and impressive confession of an enquiring spirit, written by a man who has the intellectual clearness and moral honesty to state boldly what he does and

does not believe, without concealing either the extent or the limits of his creed.

Young Folks' History of the United States. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. (Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1 vol. 12mo. Illustrated).—Colonel Higginson's book is quite a model of its kind—compact, clear, and accurate. Even in our short-lived annals there are myths which, having done duty as history for past generations, are now made over to confiding young people as facts. Colonel Higginson relates none of these, unless we except the apparition of Goffe the regicide when the Indians attacked Hadley. This story has recently been challenged, and apparently shown to be without any better foundation than tradition. It belongs probably to a very old class of myth. Castor and Pollux were seen at the battle of Lake Regillus; a pair of saints fought in the air for Constantine against Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge; and the army of Cortes was saved in Mexico by San Iago in person. It is only remarkable as having originated so recently and in New England. Many of our books for children are disfigured by Americanisms and colloquial vulgarisms, and some writers for the young adopt the sort of patronizing, jocular tone which visitors of ragged-schools are apt to assume when addressing the pupils of these institutions. It is kindly meant, no doubt, but instinctively irritating to any boy not descended from a long and unbroken line of paupers. This history is free from such blemishes. Its tone is always quiet and gentlemanlike, without exaggeration or conceits of language. There are no symptoms of rampant patriotism or spread-eagleism; even manifest destiny has been omitted. It is especially grateful not to be told that America is the home of the oppressed of all nations, and the only hope of liberty and civilization.

Unless we are mistaken, children of a larger growth will find this little book a most useful manual of American history. Nowhere can they get the facts so well stated in so small compass. The first three chapters treat of the "pleistocene" aborigines, the mound-builders, and the Indians; the next three relate the apocryphal story of the Norse colony, the voyages of Columbus and of his successors. These are followed by an account of the settlement of the thirteen colonies, which gives a clear and comprehensive view of the subject, and by capital sketches of colonial life and customs in New England, among the Dutch in New York, and the Friends in Pennsylvania. The narrative of the French and Indian wars, from 1689 to 1763, closes the history of the ante-revolutionary period, all of which is comprised in 158 12mo pages; but Colonel Higginson has selected his incidents with so much judgment and arranged them so skilfully, that a careful perusal of this half of his book will give the ordinary reader all that he would probably take away, or care to remember, if he had the time and courage to master the eight volumes of Bancroft on the same subject. In the remainder of the volume the history of the country is brought down to the election of Grant. In our own times and in the war of secession, the author is as impartial as in his earlier chapters. There is no trace of party feeling or prejudice.

We will notice one passage only, because it seems to give President Jefferson praise to which he is not entitled, and in our opinion Jefferson has been too long worshipped by a party for attributes he did not possess. On page 237, speaking of the quarrel with the Barbary States, Colonel Higginson says: "President Jefferson resolved to bear this humiliation no longer. The American navy consisted at that time of but six vessels, and he sent four of them to the Mediterranean," etc. Many thousands of dollars had been paid for peace to the Barbary powers, and many insults meekly submitted to by the Government of the United States, when, in the year 1800, the United States ship *Washington*, Captain Bainbridge, lay in the port of Algiers about to sail for home. Suddenly the Dey ordered the United States consul to send her to Constantinople with the Algerian ambassador to the Sultan on board, or he would declare war against the United States. The consul protested but submitted, and the ambassador with his suite amounting to two hundred persons, their luggage, stores, and horses, and their presents of wild animals to the Sultan, were shipped on board the *Washington*, and she sailed for Constantinople carrying the Algerian flag at the main. When the news reached America Jefferson was President. He was not roused, but "hoped that time and a more correct estimate of interest would produce justice in the Dey's mind." He contented himself by sending a protest to the consul in Algiers. It was not until the Pacha of Tripoli declared war against the United States that anything was done for defence. Even then, if Jefferson could have had his way, not a ship would have sailed from these shores. But the merchants insisted upon protection in the Mediterranean, and with great reluctance he sent out three frigates and a sloop under Commodore Dale. But Dale's hands were tied by his orders, and he was instructed not to overstep the

strict line of defence. Dale returned home after taking one Tripolitan schooner, which he disarmed and returned to her crew. The year after, Commodore Morris came to the Mediterranean and did nothing at all. The next year, 1803-4, Preble was in command, a man who would not be prevented by instructions from doing his duty. When the news of the burning of the *Philadelphia* reached home, the blood of the nation was up, and the administration had to yield to the popular feeling; but the credit is due to Preble, not to the President, who never contemplated or desired any such violent proceedings.

There are good monographs on particular periods of American history, but neither Graham, Hildreth, nor Bancroft is entirely satisfactory. This unpretending little book is the best general history of the United States we have seen. It contains all of it that the average citizen requires in order to go through life comfortably and creditably. With this well-drawn outline fixed in his mind he will always know where to place any additional facts that may be brought to his notice; and we hope that Colonel Higginson's readers, both young and old, will take pains to imitate his simple, straightforward style, which is not the least attractive feature in the work.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Allen and Greenough, Selections from the Poems of Ovid.....	(Ginn Bros.)
Angell (J.), Elements of Magnetism and Electricity.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) \$0 75
Beecher (Catharine E.), Educational Reminiscences and Suggestions.....	(J. B. Ford & Co.) 1 00
Bossuet and his Contemporaries.....	(Pott, Young & Co.)
Collins (J. H.), Principles of Metal Mining.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 0 75
Clarke (Mrs. M. C.), A Gambling Story.....	(Roberts Bros.) 1 50
Financial Review Annual.....	(Wm. B. Dana & Co.)
Fitzgerald (P.), Romance of the English Stage.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Furman (G.), Antiquities of Long Island.....	(J. W. Bouton)
Gordon (A. J.), Congregational Worship.....	(Young & Bartlett)
Gross (E. J.), Algebra, Part II.....	(Livingtons)
Huntington (Rev. J. T.), Select Orations of Lysias.....	(Ginn Bros.)
Hyacinthe (Father), Catholic Reform.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Jones (C. H.), African Exploration and Adventure.....	(Henry Holt & Co.) 2 50
Lilly (W. S.), Characteristics from the Writings of J. H. Newman.....	(Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) 2 50
Lubbock (Sir J.), British Wild Flowers in relation to Insects.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Maclean (Rev. N.), Character Sketches.....	(Dodd & Mead)
Marshall (J. M.), Quinti Horati Flacci Opera, Vol. I.....	(Livingtons)
Martin (T.), Life of H. R. H. the Prince Consort, Vol. I.....	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Martineau (J.), Religion as Affected by Modern Materialism.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Masson (Prof. D.), Three Devils, and other Essays.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 75
McLain (Mary W.), Wedding Garments.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50
Meredith (Isabella G.), The Old House on Briar Hill.....	(Dodd & Mead)
Newman (Rev. J. H.), Letter on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Recent Exposition, swd.....	(Cath. Pub. Soc.) 0 50
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Fine Arts.

A NEW French periodical, *L'Art*, edited by M. Eugène Véron, and issuing from No. 3 Chaussée d'Antin, Paris, is represented by an address in almost every capital of the globe, among others that of F. W. Christern in this city. It is in ample folio form, the page giving room for very large etchings when necessary. Of the two which accompany the first number, one is rather rococo, being a beribboned, fluttering, voluptuous group after Boucher, called the "Happy Mother," and the other daintily Dutch, being a household scene after De Hooghe. The latter, etched by Rajon, is the better specimen of aqua-fortis work, though both are good interpretations in their styles. There are woodcuts in all profusion, those illustrating Pompeii art being not very novel and not very well printed. The text is of good artistic tone and agreeable, and includes music among its subjects.

—The representatives of Goupil in New York have made an exhibition in which, abandoning all concealment, they lay bare to the public gaze whatever they have of water-color art. Little sketches by Greuze and Joseph Vernet, snuff-box-lid painting by German miniaturists, the stippled rustics of English pastoral art, are brought into juxtaposition with the most brilliant examples of the Roman and Parisian schools. No part of the display is more interesting—though there is a Meissonier, and a radiant little landscape by François—than the works of that small, audacious, and dazzling group, which, starting from the example of Fortuny and Ville-

gas, have disported with so much effect as the Roman-Spanish colorists. Several of these painters, seizing with avidity upon aquarelle as the readiest means of expressing their peculiar researches, have brought up to water-color art the training and resources acquired in works of a larger scale, and touch the cartoon with all the ease of careless mastery. The specimen in the Goupil collection of Fortuny, though small and representing but a single figure, is a lesson in its technical specialty; the face, modelled in single plans and without correction, and the deep tint of the robe—it is an Arab in a mosque—are laid upon the sheet in direct breadths and touches, the purity of color being never endangered by going over and over; and the vigorous relief and roundness of the resulting figure, with its sombre splendor of tint, are triumphant. The others of the Roman-Spanish group—comrades or imitators of Fortuny and Regnault, and generally established in studios at Rome, are represented in a cluster, and include such names as Detti, Peralta, Filosa, Rossi, Ettore and Attilio Simonetti, and Ximenes—or, as usually written in modern spelling, Jimenez. The large Simonetti, representing an intrigue between a languid beauty and an *incroyable* during the somnolence of the husband, is a marvel of lustre and flash, entirely appropriate to the butterfly life depicted; quite in contrast, and recognizing an older system of instruction, is the school-scene with a culprit pupil, by Bianchi of Milan, in which the broad and delicate tones have more the effect of fresco. In fastidious contrast, again, is the work of Edouard Frère, who never took kindly to aquarelle, and who hardly permits the most reserved wash of color to blur the lines of his tender cottage group. The contrasting texts furnished by so complete and representative an exposition as this are almost puzzling to the tyro in water-color, while the advanced connoisseurs have wherewithal to sustain prolonged controversies according to their several tastes. The collection occupies the Kurtz gallery, and is arranged preparatory to a sale which will begin on the 15th.

—That Turner's pictures should come to be copied with sympathy and affection by French etchers would have seemed a thing almost impossible in his lifetime, considering the hostile distance then maintained between the artists of the two countries; yet in the English *Portfolio* for the past year there are several very beautiful copies of the sort, such as the "Téméraire" and "Wilkie's Burial"; and the motive cause of this good result, it is not too much to say, is primarily the existence in life of Mr. Hamerton, the editor of the periodical in question. The peculiar international education of this gentleman has really been of incalculable advantage to several of the arts, and has especially subverted the abatement of prejudice on the two sides of the Channel. The *Portfolio*, under his care, has been a very admirable master of ceremonies between the countries, and has harmonized the results of British and Gallie art in one chronicle of representative works. During the year covered by the volume that is now just bound, not only have prominent engravers of both races been introduced laboring side by side in all harmony; but the editor has rather slyly inserted a choice lot of French scraps as arbitrary illustrations to his own serial of "The Sylvan Year." This is a narrative that almost any possible print would go with, being the dreamy record of idle months spent in lolling under trees or hanging over streams with books of poetry in hand; it is the reverie of an obstinate landscapist, and the impartial reader will be amused to see how triumphantly Mr. Hamerton drags in the Greek and Latin poets, who wrote before landscapes were felt or examined, in the character of singers of scenery, for all the world as if they looked at nature like Rossetti or Tennyson. "The Sylvan Year" closes with the volume. The monthly number for January introduces, along with etchings of the usual high quality, a photogravure after one of Jules Breton's paintings. The picture, a lovely group of peasant girls at a spring, is copied touch for touch, and is even happy in tone; it is probable, however, that the most valuable extremes both of light and shade are omitted, for the print has a non-committal, regular, cautious, safe style, like a timid mezzotint, and shows somewhat poorly beside the dazzling black and cream of the best etchings in the collection. It is to be acknowledged, however, that the method is the only one that can copy with precision the expression of a face, or other such close indication of the very soul with which the artist is creating his subject. Of the *Portfolio* altogether it is to be said that not only is it the first periodical in the English language devoted to fine-art, but that it leads all others by a very great distance, whatever the second and third of such publications may be taken to be. What with the erudite catalogue-making of Mr. Wornum, who annotates the series of etchings after the National Gallery pictures, the clear and attractive contributions of Mr. Hamerton, and the writings of other critics, a journal is made up which, if it be not quite so technically strong as

the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, is decidedly less Chinese and coast-bound in policy than that blindly national publication. The *Portfolio*, since the beginning of the year, has an American imprimatur in addition to its old one, being published in this country by Mr. J. W. Bouton. The num-

ber for January closes with some technical notes on painting methods, by Mr. Calderon; this feature is intended to be continued as a series of monographs, and will be especially valuable if the invitation to contribute is extended to Continental artists.

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